

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY  
BULLETIN 94



# TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

BY  
JOHN P. HARRINGTON



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JOHN P. HARRINGTON



UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1932



## LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

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SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,  
BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY,  
*Washington, D. C., May 29, 1929.*

SIR: I have the honor to submit the accompanying manuscript, entitled "Tobacco among the Karuk Indians of California," by John P. Harrington, and to recommend its publication, subject to your approval, as a bulletin of this bureau.

Respectfully,

M. W. STIRLING, *Chief.*

Dr. C. G. ABBOT,

*Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.*



## CONTENTS

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| I. Pitapvavaθtcú'pha'. Introduction   | 1    |
| II. Fá't pó'xxúrikk'yahitihanik pakuntcuphíruθθunati-hanik pananuhé'raha'. Bibliographical  | 14   |
| 1. Pámítva pakuntcuphíruθθunati-hat payiθúva kuma'ávansas pananuhé'raha 'ó·k 'iθiv-θané'n'a'tcip. Mention of tobacco among the Karuk  | 14   |
| 2. Pámítva pakuntcuphíruθθunati-hat payiθúva kuma'ávansas payiθ kuma'árā'ras mukun-θihé'raha'. Mention of tobacco among neighboring tribes  | 17   |
| III. Fá't pakunikxúriktihanik pekyā'varíhvā'nsa'. Botanical   | 35   |
| 1. Yiθúva kuma'ihé'raha'. Tobacco species   | 35   |
| 2. Pahú't 'uθvúytti'hva pehé'raha'. The name of tobacco   | 44   |
| 3. Pakó'vúra pananuppíric puyiθθa xày vura kunic va: kumé·kyá·hara pehé'raha'íppa', vura teicihpuriθíppa kítc va: kúníc kumé·kyáv, pa'apxanti·tc'í·n takinippé'er. Of all Karuk plants the Black Nightshade is most like tobacco, so the Whites tell us | 45   |
| 4. Sahihé'raha karu mahihé'raha'. Downslope and upslope tobacco   | 46   |
| 5. Pehé'raha'íppa mupik'yutunváramu'u, karu kó'vúra pamúθvuý. Morphology of the tobacco plant   | 47   |
| A. Kó'vúra pehé'raha'íppa'. The plant   | 47   |
| a. Pahú't 'u'iftakantákkanti', 'úmxá·θti', 'u'ákkati', 'umússahiti'. Sense characteristics  | 49   |
| a'. Pahú't 'u'iftakantákkanti'. Feeling   | 49   |
| b'. Pahú't 'úmxá·θti'. Smell  | 49   |
| c'. Pahú't 'u'ákkati'. Taste  | 49   |
| d'. Pahú't 'umússahiti'. Sight  | 49   |
| b. 'Imnak karu 'ámta'ap. Charcoal and ashes   | 50   |

|                  |   |    |
|------------------|---|----|
| III.             | Fā't pakunixúrikthianik pekyā·varíhvā·nsa'. Botanical—Continued.  |    |
| 5.               | Pehē·raha'íppa mupik'yutunváramu'', karu kó·vúra pamúθvuý. Morphology of the tobacco plant—Continued.   |    |
| A.               | Kó·vúra pehē·raha'ípp'a. The plant—Continued.   |    |
| c.               | Pehē·raha'íhθā·msa'. Tobacco plots  | 50 |
| d.               | Pa'é·pu''m. Root-----   | 50 |
| e.               | Pa'uhippi'. Stalk-----  | 50 |
| f.               | Pamúmma'sn. Bark-----   | 52 |
| g.               | Pamússu''f. Pith-----   | 52 |
| h.               | Pamússa'a. Leaf-----  | 52 |
| i.               | Pamuxváha'. Gum-----  | 54 |
| j.               | Pe·θíha karu pahū't 'uθvúyttih·va pamusvitáva. The flower and how its various parts are called-----   | 54 |
| a <sup>1</sup> . | Pahū't 'ukupe·θíhahahiti pe·θíha'. Phases of flowering-----   | 58 |
| k.               | Pa'úhič. Seed-----  | 58 |
| a <sup>1</sup> . | 'Uxrah'ávaha'. Fruit-----   | 60 |
| l.               | Pahū't 'ukupa'íkk'yùrúpravahiti'. Germination-----  | 61 |
| 6.               | Payiθúva kuma'íppa'. Classification of plants-----  | 61 |
| 7.               | Payiθúva kuma'ávaha'. Classification of foods-----  | 62 |
| IV.              | Pahū't pakunkupá'i·fmaθahitihanik pa'ipahahtun-vé'e tc. Karuk agriculture-----  | 63 |
| 1.               | Va: vura kítc mit pakun'íhθā·mhitihat pehē·raha'. They sowed only tobacco-----  | 63 |
| 2.               | Pahū't mit pakunkupa'ahíci'hvahitihat. How they used to set fire to the brush-----  | 63 |
| 3.               | Vura ník mit va: kun'á·punmutihat pa'úhic u'iffe'e c. They knew that seeds will grow-----   | 65 |
| A.               | 'Añikré·npíkva. The story about Sugar-loaf Bird-----  | 66 |
| B.               | 'Iθyarukpihrivpíkva, pahū't 'ukúphā'n'-nik, kárulk 'unó·vahík, pa'á·pun uvýí-hicrihtihanik pamusarah'iyútyut', The story about Across-water Widower, how he went upriver dropping acorn-bread crumbs----- | 67 |
| 4.               | Kúna vúra mit puhári 'úhic 'ipcá·nmútihap-hat. But they never packed seeds home-----  | 72 |

|   |    |
|---|----|
| IV. Pahú't pakunkupá'ífmaθahitihanik pa'ipahahtun-vé'etc. Karuk agriculture—Continued.  |    |
| 5. Pahú't pakunkupíttihaniK xá;s vura kunic 'ixáyx'á.ytihaphaṇik. Practices bordering on a knowledge of tillage-----                                  | 73 |
| 6. Va; vura kitc pakunmáharatihaniK pe'kxaré'yavsa'. Just following the Ikxareyavs-----   | 74 |
| 7. Pahú't kunkupamáhahanik pehē'raha'. Origin of tobacco-----   | 75 |
| 8. Paká:n kuma'á·pun va; mi tákunxus va; ká:n panu'uhθā·mhe'e. The kind of place chosen for planting tobacco upslope-----                             | 75 |
| 9. Pakuma'ára;r pehē'raha 'u'uhθā·mhitihaṇik. Who sowed-----  | 76 |
| 10. Puyítteakanite hitiha:n 'uhθā·mhitihaphaṇik. They did not sow at one place all the time-----  | 76 |
| 11. Hå·ri 'umúk'ífk'ar pakun'uhθā·mhitihaniK. Sometimes they used to sow near the houses-----   | 77 |
| 12. Kahúmní:k va; ká:n 'uhθamhíramhániK. Some of the places where they used to sow-----   | 77 |
| 13. Tá:yhánik vura pehē'raha 'iknivnampí·m'matec pehē'rahapiftanmáhunu tá:yhánik vura 'arári'k. Occurrence of volunteer tobacco about the houses----- | 78 |
| 14. 'Ikmahatcnampí·mate karu vura 'upíftihaniK 'iftanmáhapanhsahaṇik. Volunteer tobacco by the sweathouses-----                                       | 78 |
| 15. 'Ahtú'y k'aru vur upíftihaniK papíffapu'. Volunteer tobacco on the rubbish pile-----  | 78 |
| 16. 'Axviθinníhak karu vura 'u'íftihaniK hå·ri. Tobacco sometimes in the graveyards also-----   | 78 |
| 17. Hå·ri vura máru kunikyá·ttihaniK papíffapu'. Volunteer tobacco sometimes picked up-slope-----   | 79 |
| 18. Paká:n mi takun'uhθā·mhitihirak, va; ká:n 'upíftánmá·hti kari. Volunteer tobacco still comes up at former planting plots-----                     | 79 |
| V. Pahú't pakupa'uhθā·mhahitihaṇik, karu pakunkupe'ctúkkahitihaṇik pehē'raha'. How they used to sow and harvest tobacco-----                          | 81 |
| 1. Pa'ó:k 'iθivθané·nla·tcip vakusrahíθvuý. The Karuk calendar-----   | 81 |

|  |    |
|--|----|
| V. Pahú·t pakupa'úhθā·mhahitihañik, karu pakunkupe·ctúkkahitihanik pehē·raha'. How they used to sow and harvest tobacco—Continued.   |    |
| 2. Pakumákū·sra pakun'úhθā·mhihi karu pakumákū·sra pakun'íctū·kti'. Seasonal information as to sowing and harvesting--   | 83 |
| 3. Pahú·t kunkupa'úhθā·mhihi'. Sowing-----   | 85 |
| 4. 'Thē·raha'úhθā·mhař. Tobacco sowing formula-----  | 85 |
| 5. Pahú·t pakunkupé·vrárankurihmaθahiti pa'úhič. Harrowing the tobacco seed in-----  | 85 |
| 6. Pahú·t kunkupavitríppahiti'. Weeding-----   | 86 |
| 7. Pahú·t 'ukupa'íffahiti'. How it grows-----  | 86 |
| 8. Pahú·t 'ín kunpí·kk'áratí hă·ri 'aθí·kmű·w'k. Tobacco sometimes killed by the cold-----   | 87 |
| 9. Pahú·t kunkupé·ctúkkahiti pamússa'ən. Picking the leaves-----   | 87 |
| 10. Pahú·t pakunkupeyx'ō·rārivahiti pehē·rahasanictúkkapu'. Wrapping up picked leaves-----   | 88 |
| 11. Pahú·t pa'uhíppi kunkupe·ctúkkahiti'. Picking the stems-----   | 89 |
| 12. Pahú·t pa'úhic kunkupe·ctúkkahiti'. Picking the seeds-----   | 89 |
| 13. Pahú·t pa'araraká·nnimitcas kunkupítti hă·ri kunípcí·tvuti pehē·raha'. Poor people stealing tobacco-----   | 90 |
| VI. Pahú·t kunkupé·kyā·hiti pehē·raha patakunpíctü·kmaraħa'ak. How they cure tobacco after picking it-----   | 92 |
| 1. Pahú·t pakunkupasuvaxráhahiti pehē·raħássa'ən. Curing tobacco leaves-----   | 92 |
| 2. Pahú·t 'ikmahátca;m kunkupe·kyā·hiti papíric, kuna vura 'i·nnā·k 'ikrívrā·mak xas po'ttā·yhití'. Tobacco leaves are cured in the sweathouse but stored in the living house----- | 93 |
| 3. Pahú·t Pihnē·ffite pó·ktā·kvaranik 'ikmahátca;m kar ikrívrā·m. Coyote set sweathouse and living house apart-----  | 94 |
| 4. Pahú·t pa'uhíppi kunkupé·ktcúrahahiti'. Pounding up the tobacco stems-----  | 95 |
| 5. Pé·krívkir. The disk seats-----   | 96 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| VI. Pahú·t kunkupé·kyá·hiti pehē·raha patakunpíctú·k-maraha'·k. How they cure tobacco after picking it—Continued.  |     |
| 6. Pa'uhipihikteú·ar. The tobacco stem pestles-----  | 97  |
| 7. Pahú·t Pihné·ffitc po·kyá·n'nik, pa'ávansa 'u:m pu'ikrá·mtlhú·càrà 'ikrávàrámú'·k. How Coyote ordained that a man shall not pound with an acorn pestle----- | 98  |
| VII. Pakumé·mus pehē·rahássa'·n, pakó: 'ikpíhan karu vú·ra. Color and strength of leaf tobacco-----  | 100 |
| 1. Pahú·t umússahiti pehē·rahássa'·n. Color of leaf tobacco-----   | 100 |
| 2. Pakó: 'ikpíhan pehē·raha'. How tobacco is strong-----   | 100 |
| VIII. Pahú·t pakunkupa'iccunvháti pehē·raha'. How they store tobacco-----  | 101 |
| 1. Pahú·t ukupatá·yhahiti 'í·nná'·k. How it is kept in the living house-----   | 102 |
| 2. Pa'uhsípnú'·k. The tobacco basket-----  | 103 |
| A. Pahú·t yiθθúva 'uθvúytti'hva pamuc-vitáva pasípnú'·k. Names of the different parts of the basket-----   | 104 |
| B. Mitva pakumapihinhí·ttcítcas pa'uhsípnú'·k kuntá·rahitiha'·. What old men had tobacco baskets-----  | 104 |
| C. Pahú·t payé·m 'u:m vú·ra yiθ takunku-pé·kyá·hiti pa'uhsipnú'·k. How now they are making tobacco baskets different-----                                      | 106 |
| D. Pa'uhsipnuk'íθxúppar, pahú·t kákum yiθθúva kumé·kyav pa'uhsipnuk'íθ-xúppa'·. The tobacco basket cover, how tobacco basket covers are variously made-----    | 106 |
| E. Pahú·t kunkupe·θxúppahitihanik pa'-usípnú'·k táffirápuhmú'·k. How they used to use buckskin as a cover for a tobacco basket-----                            | 106 |
| F. Pahú·t kunkupé·krú·ppaθahitihanik táffirapu pa'uhsipnuk'íppanka'm. How they used to sew buckskin on top of a tobacco basket-----                            | 107 |

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| VIII. Pahú·t pakunkupa'iccunvhiti pehē·raha'. How they store tobacco—Continued.  |      |
| 2. Pa'uhspnu'u·k. The tobacco basket—Cont.   |      |
| G. Pahú·t kunkupavíkk'yahiti pa'uhspnu'u·k. Weaving a tobacco basket—  | 107  |
| a. Pahú·t kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhspnu'u·k, pahú·t kunkupatáyí·θahiti'. How they start the tobacco basket, how they lash the base—  | 107  |
| b. Passú·kam vassárip va; takuniyna-kavára·m'mar. They finish lashing the inside sticks—   | 111  |
| c. Xas va; vura kuniynakavárá·ti k'yúkku'u·m. How they continue lashing—   | 111  |
| d. Pa'ávahkam vassárip kúna takuniynakavárá·m'mar. They finish lashing the outside sticks—   | 113  |
| e. Yíθøa takunipvíkkirö·piθva', pí·θ passárip takunpicríkk'yasfar. They weave one course, taking in four sticks at a time—   | 113  |
| f. Yá·stí·k'yam kú;k takunví·kma'. They weave to the right—  | 114  |
| g. Pahú·t piccítc kunkupa'árvahiti'. How they twine with three strands the first time—   | 115  |
| h. Pahú·t kunkupa'axaytcákkicrihahiti pakunvíktiha'a·k. How they hold the basket as it is being woven—   | 117  |
| i. Pahú·t kunkupapáffivmárahiti'. How they finish out the bottom—  | 117  |
| j. Pahú·t kunkupatakrávahiti' sú;kam, karixas takunvíkk'yura'. How they apply a hoop on the inside before they weave up the sides of the basket—                               | 119  |
| k. Pahú·t kunkupavíkk'yurá·hiti'. How they weave up the sides of the basket—   | 120  |
| l. Pahú·t ká·kum kunkupapipátri·pvahiti passárip, pa'ippaváritáha'a·k. How they break off some of the warp sticks when they have progressed well toward the top of the basket— | 121  |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| VIII. Pahú't pakunkupa'íccunvahiti pehē·raha'. How they store tobacco—Continued.  |     |
| 2. Pa'uhsípnu'uk. The tobacco basket—Cont.  |     |
| G. Pahú't kunkupavíkk'yahiti pa'uhsípnu'uk. Weaving a tobacco basket—Continued.   |     |
| m. Pahú't va; víra kunkupavíkk'yahiti'. How they keep on weaving up the sides of the basket-----  | 121 |
| n. Pahú't kunkupe·pθíθahiti pa'uhsípnu'uk. How they finish the tobacco basket-----  | 122 |
| o. Pahú't kunkupavíkk'yahiti pe·θxúppař. Weaving the cover-----   | 123 |
| p. Pahú't kunkupe·nhíkk'yahiti pe·θxúppař. How they tie the cover on-----   | 124 |
| q. Tusipú'nvahiti pakó:h pa'uhsípnu'uk. Measurements of the tobacco basket-----   | 126 |
| 3. Pakah̄uhsípnu'uk. Upriver tobacco basket--   | 126 |
| 4. Pakahápxa'ən. Upriver hat tobacco basket--   | 127 |
| A. Pakahápxa:n pakumé·mus. What the upriver hats look like-----   | 127 |
| B. Pakahapxan̄ikxúrik. Patterns of upriver hats-----  | 127 |
| C. 'Aθiθúfvōnnupma Va'árá·ras 'u;mkun káru va; ká·kum kunvíkti' kuma'ápxa'ən. Some Happy Camp people weave that kind of hat, too-----   | 127 |
| D. Pahú't mit kunkupíttihat pakunipírā·nvutihat mit pánnu; kumárā·ras Pakah̄árahsa kó·va, kah̄ínna:m pata'írahivha'ək. How our kind of people used to trade with the upriver people at Clear Creek new year ceremony--- | 128 |
| E. Tcimi nutcuphuruθune:c pakahápxa'ən. Telling about the upriver hat tobacco basket-----   | 128 |
| F. Pahú't kunkupe·kyā·hiti pehē·rahama-hyā·nnarav kahápxa'ən. How they make a tobacco container out of an upriver hat-----  | 129 |
| 5. Pe·cyuxθirix'yō·n̄ihé·rahama-hyā·nnarav. Elk scrotum tobacco container-----  | 131 |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| IX. Pahú·t mit va; kunkupapé·hvápiθvahitihat pehé·ra-ha'. How they used to sell tobacco-----                                    | 133  |
| 1. Pámítva pakó·'ðrahiti·hat pehé·raha'. Price<br>of tobacco -----  | 134  |
| X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahiti'. Tobacco smoking-----  | 135  |
| 1. Po·hrá·m. The pipes-----   | 135  |
| A. Payiθúva k̄yð·k mit kuma'úhra'sm. The<br>different kinds of pipes that there<br>used to be-----                              | 135  |
| a. Paxavic'úhra'sm. The arrowwood<br>pipe -----   | 137  |
| a'. Pe·kxaré·ya va; mukun'úhra·m-<br>hanik xavic'úhra'sm. The<br>arrowwood pipe was the pipe<br>of the Ixxareyav-----           | 137  |
| b'. Xavic'úhná·mite mit mu'úh-<br>ra;m xikí·hič. Squirrel<br>Jim's pipe was a little arrow-<br>wood one -----                   | 137  |
| c'. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyá·hiti xa-<br>vic'úhra'sm. How they make<br>an arrowwood pipe -----  | 138  |
| d'. 'Amvavákkay vo'á·mnúprihti<br>paxavic'uhramsúruvar. A<br>salmon-grub eats through the<br>arrowwood pipe hole -----          | 142  |
| a''. Payiθúva kð· kumapássay<br>k̄yaru 'amvavákkaý.<br>The different kinds of<br>salmon beetle and worm-----                    | 142  |
| b''. Pahú·t kunθaruprinává·θ-<br>tihanik pavákkay po·hrá·m. How they<br>used to make the salmon<br>grub bore the pipe hole----- | 146  |
| e'. Tcaka'i·mite'íkyav xas pakun-<br>píkyá·rati po·hrá·m. They<br>are slow about finishing up<br>the pipe-----                  | 147  |
| f'. Xavic'úhra;m 'u;m sírik'yunic.<br>An arrowwood pipe shines---   | 147  |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hé·rahiti'. Tobacco smoking—Con.  |     |
| 1. Po·hrâ·m. The pipes—Continued.   |     |
| A. Payiθúva k'yō·k mit kuma'úhra'·m. The different kinds of pipes that there used to be—Continued.  |     |
| b. Pafaθip'úhra'·m. The manzanita pipe-----   | 147 |
| a'. Pahú·t kunkupé·kyā·ssipre·hiti pafaθip'úhra'·m. How they start to make a manzanita pipe-----  | 147 |
| b'. Pahú·t kunkupappáramvahiti pafaθip'áhuþ. How they boil the manzanita wood-----  | 148 |
| c'. Pahú·t hâ·ri 'aθkúrritta kunθá·n-kuri po·hram'íkyav. How sometimes they soak the pipe that they are making in grease-----               | 148 |
| d'. Pahú·t kunkupattárupkahiti po·hram'íppañ. How they dig out the bowl cavity-----   | 149 |
| e'. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyā·hiti pamus-súruvar. How they make the hole through it-----   | 149 |
| f'. Pahú·t 'ávahkam kunkupata-xicxíccahiti', xú·skúnic kunkupe·kyā·hiti k'yáru vuþa. How they dress off the outside and make it smooth----- | 149 |
| c. Paxuparic'úhra'·m. The yew pipe-----   | 150 |
| d. Pa'aso·hram'úhra'·m. The stone pipe-----   | 150 |
| B. Po·hram'íkk'yō·r. Stone pipe bowls-----  | 151 |
| a. Kákum 'ukkô·rahina·ti po·hrâ·m. Some pipes have stone pipebowls-----   | 151 |
| b. Kaðtim'í·n pa'as pakuníppé·nti 'Ik'yō·rá·as. The rock at Katimin called 'Ik'yō·rá·as (Pipe Bowl Rock)-----                               | 151 |
| c. Pe·kxaré·yav va·ká·n kumpíppä·θku-rihanik pa'asáyav. The Ixareyavs threw down the good rock-----   | 152 |
| d. Pahú·t kunkupe·knansúrō·hiti'. How they peck it off-----   | 152 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hé·rahiti'. Tobacco smoking—Con.  |     |
| 1. Po·hrâ·m. The pipes—Continued.   |     |
| B. Po·hram·íkk'yó·r. Stone pipe bowls—Continued.  |     |
| e. Pa'as Ka?tim?ín pakunípē·nti 'Asaxús?as. The rock at Katimin called Asaxusas (Soft Soapstone Rock)-----                | 153 |
| f. Va; karu ká;n 'u'asáxxú·shiti Sihtirikusá·m. There is soft soapstone at Sihtirikusam, too-----                         | 154 |
| g. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyá·hiti pe·kk'yó·r. How they shape the pipe bowl-----  | 154 |
| h. Hâ·ri 'itcâ·nítc vura té·cítc takuník·ya·v. Sometimes they make several at a time-----                                 | 155 |
| i. Pahú·t kunkupáθθá·nkahiti pe·kk'yó·r po·hrá·m'mak. How they fit the pipe bowl on the pipe-----                         | 155 |
| j. Pahú·t kunkupe·ttákkankahiti'. How they glue it on-----  | 156 |
| k. Pahú·t kunkupapé·ttcúrō·hiti pe·kk'yó·r. How they remove the pipe bowl-----  | 157 |
| C. Pahú·t mit k'yó·s po·hrâ·m, pamit hû·t kunkupe·ttcí·tkirahitiha·t. The size of pipes and how they made them fancy----- | 158 |
| a. Pahú·t mit k'yó·s po·hrâ·m. The size of pipes-----   | 158 |
| a'. Púmit vâ·ramasákâ·msahara po·hrâ·m. Pipes did not use to be very long-----  | 158 |
| b'. Pahú·t mit k'yó·s paxavic?úhra'a·m. Size of arrowwood pipes-----  | 158 |
| c'. Pahú·t mit k'yó·s pa'ém?úhra'a·m. Size of doctor's pipes-----   | 159 |
| d'. Pahú·t ko·yá·hiti pehê·raha po·hrâ·m. Tobacco capacity of pipes-----  | 160 |

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| <b>X. Pahú't kunkupe'hé'rahiti'. Tobacco smoking—Con.</b>   |     |
| 1. Po'hrá'm. The pipes—Continued.   |     |
| C. Pahú't mit k'yó's po'hrá'm, pamit hū't kunkupe'ttcí'tkirahitihať. The size of pipes and how they made them fancy—Continued.                                    |     |
| b. Pamit hū't kunkupe'ttcí'tkirahitihat po'hrá'm. How they made the pipes fancy-----  | 161 |
| a'. Vač' uč'm vura pipi'ě'p va'úh-rá'mhaťa, pé'vúrukáhitihan po'hrá'm. Painted pipes are not the old style-----   | 161 |
| b'. Pahú't yuxtcánnanite kunkupe'yá'kkurihvahiti po'hrá'm. How they inlay pipes-----  | 161 |
| D. Pahú't po'hrá: mit kunkupappé'hvapiyahitihať, pámitva kó' 'órahitihať. How they used to sell pipes, and the prices-----  | 162 |
| a. Pahú't mit yúruk kunkupé'kvárahitihať. How they used to buy pipes downriver-----   | 162 |
| E. Panú't puxxarahírurav yávhitihanik po'hrá'm, pahú't 'ukupatanníhahitihanik po'hrá'm. How pipes did not use to last long, and how they used to get spoiled----- | 163 |
| a. Xáč's vura kó'vúra te'kyáppi't.ca pá'araré'kyav payváhe'm. Newness of most artifacts that are extant-----  | 165 |
| F. Ká'kum po'hrá'm pakumé'mus. Description of certain pipes-----  | 165 |
| G. Ta'y' uθvýytti'hva po'hrá'm. The pipe has various names-----   | 166 |
| a. Pakó: 'uθvýytti'hva pamuevitáva po'hrá'm. Nomenclature of the parts of the pipe-----   | 166 |
| b. Pakó: yiθúva kuniθvýytti'hva po'hrá'm. Names of various kinds of pipe-----   | 167 |
| c. Ká'kum 'uhramyé'pea karu ká'kum 'uhramké'mmitcas. Good and poor pipes-----   | 168 |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| X. Pahú't kunkupe'hé.rahití'. Tobacco smoking—Con.  |      |
| 1. Po'hrá'm. The pipes—Continued.   |      |
| G. Ta'y'uθvúyittí'hva po'hrá'm. The pipe has various names—Continued.   |      |
| d. Kákum xú'skúnicas karu kákum xíkkihca po'hrá'm. Smooth and rough pipes-----                                  | 169  |
| e. Pahú't po'kupítti po'hram?áhup 'a'n kunic 'u'ix?avxárá'hiti su?. How the grain of the pipe wood runs-----    | 169  |
| f. 'Itatkurihvaras?úhra'a'm karu 'uhram?íkxúrikk'yaras. Inlaid pipes and painted pipes-----                     | 169  |
| g. Kákum 'uhrampi't'ca', karu kákum 'uhramxávtcuř. New and old pipes-----                                       | 170  |
| n. 'Uhrám?í'nk'yurihařas. Pipes that have become burned out-----  | 170  |
| i. 'Uhram?ímxaxaváráras, pahú't 'ukupe'mxaxavárá'hiti'. Cracked pipes and how they crack-----                   | 170  |
| a'. Pahú't 'ukupe'mxaxavárá'hiti. How they crack-----   | 171  |
| j. 'Ippankam ké'citc, karu po'hram?ápmá'nak 'u'ánnushitihatc. The bowl end is big and the mouth end flares----- | 171  |
| k. Pakó' po'ássiphahiti pamuhé'raha'iθrú'ram. Size of the bowl cavity-----                                      | 171  |
| l. Pahú't pe'kk'yō'r 'umússahiti'. Description of the stone pipe bowls-----                                     | 172  |
| a'. 'Ik'yō're'ctáktá'kkářas. Nicked pipe bowls-----   | 172  |
| m. Pahú't po'mússahiti po'hram?ápmá'a'n. Description of the mouth end of pipes-----                             | 172  |
| n. Pahú't 'ukupá'i'hyáhiti karu hár'i po'kupáθá'nné'hiti po'hrá'm. How pipes stand and lie-----                 | 173  |
| 2. Paxé'hva'a's. The pipe sack-----   | 173  |
| A. Po'hrámyav 'u:m vura hitíha:n xé'hvá's-sak su? 'úkri?'. A good pipe is always in its pipe sack-----          | 173  |

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| X. Pahú't kunkupe·hé·rahiti'. Tobacco smoking—Con.   |      |
| 2. Paxé'hva's. The pipe sack—Continued.  |      |
| B. 'Aká'y mukyá'pu paxé'hva's. Who makes the pipe sacks-----   | 174  |
| C. Yiθúva kumaxé'hva's. The different kinds of pipe sacks-----   | 174  |
| a. Paxé'hva's pámita nimmá·htíhat pi·nikníkk'ahív. Pipe sacks that I used to see at kick dances-----   | 174  |
| b. Pa'afiv'ímyá·thína·tihan kumaxé'hva's. Pipe sacks with fur on the lower part-----   | 175  |
| c. Pe·cyuxmanxé'hva's. Elk skin pipe sacks-----  | 175  |
| d. Pe·cyuxθirix'ó·nxé'hva's. Elk testicle pipe sacks-----  | 175  |
| D. Pahú't paxé'hva's kunkupe·kyá·hiti'. How they make a pipe sack-----   | 176  |
| a. Pahú't kunkupe·kyá·hiti pa'íppam. Sinew for pipe sacks-----   | 178  |
| b. Pahú't pakunkupe·krúppahiti paxé'hva's. How they sew the pipe sack-----   | 178  |
| c. Pahú't pakú·kam u'ávahkamhiti kunkupappú·vrinahiti paxé'hva's. How they turn the pipe sack back rightside out-----                        | 179  |
| d. Pahú't kunkupe·kyá·hiti paxe·hvaskíccapař, pahú't kunkupé·krú·pkahiti'. How they make the pipe sack tie thong and how they sew it on----- | 179  |
| e. Pahú't kunkupa'árippaθahiti patáffirápu'. How they cut off spirally a buckskin thong-----   | 179  |
| E. Pahú't kunkupamáhyá·nnahiti pehē·raha paxé·hvá·ssak. How they put the tobacco in the pipe sack-----                                       | 180  |
| a. Pahú't kunkupo·hyanákō·hiti pata-kunmáhyá·nnaha;k pehē·raha paxé·hvá·ssak. How they pray when they put the tobacco in the pipe sack-----  | 180  |

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahiti'. Tobacco smoking—Con.   |      |
| 2. Paxé·hva'as. The pipe sack—Continued.   |      |
| F. Pahú·t kunkupé·pkíccapahiti po·hrá·m<br>paxé·hvá·ssak. How they tie up the<br>pipe in the pipe sack-----  | 180  |
| G. Pahú·t ukupé·hyáramníhahiti po·hrá·m<br>paxé·hvá·ssak. How the pipe rides in<br>the pipe sack-----  | 181  |
| H. Pahú·t ukupappíhahitihanik pataxxára<br>vaxé·hva'as. How an old pipe sack is<br>stiff-----  | 182  |
| I. Tusipú·nvahiti pakó·ká·kum paxé·hva'as.<br>Measurements of some old pipe sacks-----   | 182  |
| 3. Pahú·t kunkupa'ē·ti po·hrá·m. How they<br>carry the pipe-----   | 182  |
| 4. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahiti'. Smoking proce-<br>dure-----  | 183  |
| A. Pakumá·a·h kunihru·vtihanik pamukun-<br>rúhra·m kun·áhkō·ratihanič. What<br>kind of fire they used for lighting their<br>pipes-----                     | 184  |
| B. Pahú·t kunkupa'ē·θícukvahiti po·hrá·m,<br>karu pehē·raha', paxé·hvá·ssak. How<br>they take the pipe and the tobacco out<br>of the pipe sack-----        | 184  |
| C. Pahú·t kunkupa'áhkō·hiti po·hrá·m'mak.<br>How they light the pipe-----  | 187  |
| a. Pahú·t kunkupa'áhkō·hiti po·hrá·m<br>'áhupmū·k. How they light the<br>pipe with a stick-----  | 187  |
| b. Pahú·t kunkupa'áhkō·hiti po·hrá·m<br>'imnákkamū·k. How they light<br>the pipe with a coal-----  | 187  |
| a'. Pahú·t tí·kmū·k sú·ya·tc vura<br>kunkupaθánkō·hiti pe·mnak<br>po·hrá·m'mak. How they put<br>the coal directly into the pipe<br>with their fingers----- | 188  |
| b'. Pahú·t kunkupatvatvára·hiti sú·<br>ya·tc vura pe·mnak po·h-<br>rá·m'mak. How they tong<br>the coal directly into the pipe-----                         | 188  |
| c'. Pahú·t 'á·pun pícci·p kunku-<br>pata·tící·hvahiti pe·mnak.<br>How they toss the coal down<br>on the floor first-----                                   | 190  |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahiti'. Tobacco smoking—Con.   |     |
| 4. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahiti'. Smoking procedure—Continued.   |     |
| D. Pahú·t kunkupe·hyasípri·naváθahiti po·hrâ·m, papicí·tc takunihé·raha'ak. How they hold the pipe tipped up when they start to smoke-----                       | 191 |
| E. Pahú·t 'á·punitc va; kari takunpaxay-teákkicrihti', paxánnahitc tu'inkya-ha'ak. How they hold it lower after it has burned for a while-----                   | 191 |
| F. Pahú·t kunkupapamahmáhahiti'. How they smack in-----  | 192 |
| G. Pahú·t kunkupé·cná·kvahiti'. How they take the tobacco smoke into the lungs-----  | 193 |
| H. Pahú·t kunkupitti patakunpícná·kvama-raha'ak. How they do after they take the tobacco smoke into the lungs-----   | 195 |
| I. Pahú·t kunkupappé·θrupa·hiti po·hrâ·m. How they take the pipe out of the mouth-----   | 196 |
| J. Pahú·t paxé·hvá;s kunkupapimθanuv-nó·hiti', papúva po·hrá·m piyú nvárap. How they tap the pipe sack, before they put the pipe back in-----                    | 197 |
| K. Pahú·t kunkupé·pθánná·mníhvàhítì po·hrá·m paxé·hvá·ssak su?. How they put the pipe back into the pipe sack-----   | 197 |
| L. Pahú·t 'ukupe·hē·rahiti pafatavé·nna'ən. Smoking procedure of the fatavennan-----   | 198 |
| 5. Pahú·t pa'úhaf sáripmū· kunkupe·kfutráθθu-nahiti po·hrá·m'mak. How they ram the nicotine out of the pipe with a hazel stick-----                              | 198 |
| 6. Pahú·t kunkupíttihanik súppá·hak, pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahithani k'yáru vúra. Their daily life and how they smoked-----  | 199 |
| A. Pahú·t mi takunpihé'ər, karu hár'i mi takunpá·tvař, patapu'ikví·thápha'ak. How they went back to smoke or went to bathe, when they could not go to sleep----- | 206 |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| <b>X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahiti'.</b> Tobacco smoking—Con.   |      |
| 6. Pahú·t kunkupíttihanik súppā·hač, pahú·t<br>kunkupe·hē·rahitihani kyáru vúřa. Their<br>daily life and how they smoked—Contd.   |      |
| B. Pahú·t kunkupe·hē·rahitihani pe·mpâ·k,<br>pa'ávansässičn takunpíkmâ·ntunva-<br>ha'sk. How they used to smoke on<br>the trail when two men met each other.                                | 207  |
| a. Pahú·t mit 'ukupe·hē·rahitihat 'im-<br>pâ·k mitva nanixúkkam. How<br>my deceased uncle used to smoke<br>on the trail-----  | 208  |
| b. Pahú·t mitva kunkupíttihat pa'asik<br>tavansičn takunpíkmâ·ntunvaha'sk<br>'impâ·k. How they did when two<br>women met each other on the trail-----                                       | 210  |
| c. Pahú·t mit pa'učs kunkupe·kyâ·hihi-<br>hač, pámitv o·kupíttihat pa'ávansa<br>tupihé'r 'ípaha'áffič. How they<br>gathered sugar pine nuts, how the<br>man used to smoke under a tree----- | 211  |
| 7. Pahú·t kunkupafuhíccahiti pe·hē'r. Smok-<br>ing beliefs-----   | 214  |
| A. Vač kunippé·nti tó·ksá·hvar po·hrâ·m,<br>to·mxáxxar vač kári. They say that if<br>one laughs into a pipe, it cracks-----   | 214  |
| B. Karu mit vura pu'ihé·ratihat 'ač ve·h-<br>yárihač. And a person never smoked<br>standing-----  | 214  |
| C. Karu púmit 'ihé·ratihaphat, pakunítc-<br>nâ·hvutiha'sk. Nec decet fumare ca-<br>cando-----   | 214  |
| 8. Pámitva kárixas kunihé'râ·nhitihač. When<br>they learned to smoke-----   | 214  |
| A. Pahú·t pámitva kári kinihé·ravávaθtihat<br>paxxi·ttícas pakuphákkâ·mha'sk. How<br>they forced children to smoke at the<br>ghost dance-----   | 215  |
| 9. Pahú·t pehé·raha kunkupavictánni nuva-<br>hitihanič. How they used to get the<br>tobacco habit-----  | 215  |

| Page  |     |
|---|-----|
| X. Pahú't kunkupe'hé'rahití'. Tobacco smoking—Con.  |     |
| 10. Pahú't vura pukupítthaphanik, puffá't vura<br>kumappíric 'icá'ntihaphanik pamukun-<br>rhé'raha'. How they never mixed any<br>other kind of plant with their tobacco-----                      | 216 |
| A. Pahú't vura pukupítthaphanik 'axθa-<br>hamá'n kumá'lnkya vura pu'i·cánti-<br>haphanik pehé'raha'. They never<br>mixed burned fresh-water mussel<br>shells with the tobacco-----                | 216 |
| 11. Pahú't va; vura kitc hár'i pakunkupítthahánik,<br>pa'uhíppi kunf'cá'ntihánik pamukunihé-<br>raha'. How they never mixed anything<br>except sometimes tobacco stems with<br>their tobacco----- | 217 |
| A. Pahú't vúra pukupítthaphanik pu'ihe-<br>rátihaphanik pa'uhipihíccarípux. How<br>they never used to smoke the stems<br>unmixed-----   | 217 |
| B. Pahú't hár'i kun?ákkíhtihánik po'hé're;c<br>pa'araká'nnimitc pa'í'n takinipmah-<br>vákkirá'ha'sk. How they sometimes<br>gave tobacco stems to smoke to a poor<br>person who came visiting----- | 218 |
| 12. Pe'hú't hár'i vura kó'k fá'tcas pakunihé'rati<br>pu'ihe'raha vura kítcha'a. How they some-<br>times smoke some little things besides<br>tobacco-----  | 218 |
| A. Pahú't kícvu:f kunkupe'hé'rati'. How<br>they smoke Indian celery-----  | 218 |
| B. Pahú't mit kunihé'nni'tcvutihat sanpfíric.<br>How they used to play-smoke maple<br>leaves-----   | 219 |
| C. Pahú't púmitva 'ihé'ratihaphat pa'aná'tc-<br>?úhič. How they never smoked mis-<br>tletoe-----  | 221 |
| D. Pahú't mit 'iθá'n uxússa'at kiri va; ni-<br>k'yú'pha 'Ahó'yá'm'mate. Ahoyam-<br>mate's experiment-----   | 221 |
| XI. Pahú't mit kunkupítthihat 'ihé'raha mit kun?á'mtihat.<br>How they used to eat tobacco-----  | 222 |
| XII. Pahú't pámitva pukupítthaphať, pumit 'ihé'raha<br>máhyá'nnatihaphať, papu'ávě'cap fá;t 'í'n pá'u'up.<br>Tobacco never used as an insectifuge-----  | 224 |

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| XIII. Pakó·vúra kumakkúha 'uyavhitihanik pehē·raha'.<br>Tobacco good for various ailments-----   | 225  |
| 1. Pahú·t mit kunkupé·cnápkō·hitihat pehē·raha',<br>patakunpíkní·vravaha'·k. How they used<br>to put tobacco on when they got hurt-----  | 225  |
| 2. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·cnápkō·hitihat pehē·raha'<br>'â·v, pavúha kunimffrahitiha'·k. How they<br>used to put tobacco on the face when they<br>had the toothache-----  | 226  |
| 3. Pahú·t mit kunkupafumpúhkā·nnatihat pehē·<br>rahá·mku·f tî·v su·, pa'aráttâ·nva takun-<br>ké·nnaha·k tî·v. How they used to blow<br>tobacco smoke in the ear when they had<br>the earache-----                          | 226  |
| XIV. Pa'é·mca pahú·t kunkupe·hrô·hiti pehē·raha'. How<br>the suck doctors use tobacco-----   | 227  |
| 1. Pahú·t pámitva kunkupítti pa'é·mca', pícci:p<br>kunihé·rati', karixas takunpáttumka'. How<br>the suck doctors do, how they smoke be-<br>fore sucking-----   | 227  |
| 2. Pahú·t pa'é·m 'ukupapímýä·hvahitihat pehē·<br>rahá·mku·f po'i·htiha'·k, pakunpi·níknik-<br>vana·tiha'·k. How a suck doctor breathes<br>in the tobacco smoke while she is dancing<br>at a kick dance-----                | 228  |
| 3. Pahú·t 'Icrá·mhírak Va'ára:r 'ukupararih-<br>k·vanhivâ·θváhiti pakkuhâr. How Mrs.<br>Hoodley cured a sick person-----   | 229  |
| XV. Pahú·t papiric'ané·kyávâ·nsa pícci:p kunkupamút-<br>pí·θvahiti pehē·raha', pa'ánnav karixás kunik-<br>yâ·tti'. How the steaming doctors throw tobacco<br>around before they fix their medicine-----                    | 231  |
| XVI. Pahú·t 'ihé·raha kunkupatáyvárahiti pa'akúnvâ·nsa'.<br>How hunters "spoil" tobacco-----   | 235  |
| 1. Yíøøa pákkuri po'pívyrí·nk'yüti pahú·t pe-<br>hē·raha kunkupe·ptayváratti pakun?ákkun-<br>vutiha'·k. Song telling how hunters throw<br>tobacco around-----  | 235  |
| XVII. Patciríxxu's, pahú·t mit k'yáru vura kunkupe·hrô·hi-<br>tihat. The teiríxxus, and what they did with them-----   | 236  |
| 1. Pahú·t Kú:f 'ukupáppi·fk'yuna·hanik paka?·<br>tim?·nye·ripáxvü·hsa', pamuppákkuri teiríx-<br>xu:s 'upivuyrí·mk'yütihanik Kú:f. How<br>Skunk shot the Katimin maidens, how<br>Skunk mentioned teiríxxus in his song----- | 237  |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| XVIII. Pahú·t kunkupe·hró·hiti pehé·raha pa'írahívha'ak.   | 241 |
| How they use tobacco in the new-year ceremony-----   |     |
| 1. Pafatavé·nna:n pahú·t 'ukupa'é·θihahiti hití-ha:n pamu'úhra'a:m. How the fatavennan always carries his pipe with him-----   | 242 |
| 2. Pahú·t kunkupe·hé·rana·hiti Ka?tim?i:n pa'áx-xak tukunníha'ak. How they smoke at Katimin on the second day of the target-shooting ceremony-----   | 242 |
| 3. Pahú·t mit kunkupíttihat 'uh?áhakkuv kuma-súppa'a. How they used to do on the day [called] "going toward tobacco"-----  | 244 |
| 4. Pahú·t kunkupitti pata'ifutctimitcsúppa pe·criv Ka?tim?i:n. How they do on the last day of the 'icriv at Katimin-----   | 245 |
| XIX. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·hé·ratihat pe·hé·raha po·kuphak-ka'mha'ak. How they smoked tobacco at the Ghost Dance -----  | 253 |
| XX. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·hé·ratihat pa'arare·θtíttahi.v. How they smoked at Indian card games-----   | 254 |
| XXI. Payiθúva kó:kuma'án'nav, pakú:k tcú:ph u'ú:mmahiti pehé·raha:k. Various formulae which mention tobacco-----   | 255 |
| 1. Kitaxrihara'araraxusipmúrukkarihé·rar. Protective smoking medicine of the [Katimin] Winged Ixxareyav-----   | 255 |
| 2. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·hé·rahiti·hat pamukún-vá:ssan takunmáha'ak. How they smoked when they saw an enemy-----  | 257 |
| 3. Pahú·t Vítvi:t ukúphá:n'nik, pamaruk'ara-ra'i:n kinθáffipanik pamutúnv'i:v, pahú·t 'ukupe·hé·raha:nik. What Long-billed Dowitcher did when the Mountain Giant ate up his children, how he smoked----- | 257 |
| 4. Kahθuxrivick'yúruhar mutunverahappíric, pá'u:m víra va:m muppíric upikyá:nik pamu'úhra'a:m. Kahθuxrivick'yúruhar's childbirth medicine, how he used his pipe as medicine-----                         | 261 |

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| <b>XXII.</b> 'Ihē·rah uθvuykírahina·ti yiθúva kumátcū·pha'. Various names which mention tobacco-----  | 263  |
| 1. Pehē·rahá·mva'ñ. The "tobacco eater" [bird] -----  | 263  |
| A. Pahú·t kunkupasó·mkirahanik 'a:t paye·ripáxvú·hsa, xas 'ihē·rahá·mva:n pu·xá·kkitic kunippá·nik: "Nu; Pá'a·st." How the maidens came to marry Salmon, and Nighthawk and "Tobacco Eater" said they were Salmon----- | 263  |
| 2. Pehē·raha·mvanvasih·íkxú·rik. The whip-poorwill back [basket] design-----  | 266  |
| 3. Pakó·kkáninay pehē·rah 'uθvuykírahinā·ti'. Places named by tobacco-----  | 266  |
| 4. 'Ávansa 'ihē·rah 'uθvuykírahítiháñik. A man named by tobacco-----  | 267  |
| 5. Pahú·t mit 'ihē·raha kunkupe·θúvýkírahítiháñ, patakunmáha;k θúkkinkunic fát vúra. How they called it after tobacco whenever they saw anything green-----   | 267  |
| <b>XXIII.</b> Ká·kum pákkuri vúra kitc 'ihē·raha 'upívúyri·nk'yahina·ti'. Only a few songs mention tobacco-----   | 268  |
| <b>XXIV.</b> Pa'apxanti·te·ihé·raha'. White man tobacco-----  | 269  |
| 1. Pahú·t kunkupásá·nvahitihanik pamukun·hē·raha pa'apxantínnihiç. How the white men brought their tobacco with them-----   | 269  |
| A. Pahú·t mit po·kupíttihat 'Axváhitc Va·ará', pehē·ra mit upáttanvutiháñ. How Old Coffee Pot used to bum tobacco-----  | 269  |
| B. Pahú·t mit kunkupé·kvá·nvana·hitihat pa·ahikyá'r karu mit va; vura ká:n pakunihé·rana·tihiat panamnikpe·hvapiθvá·ram. How they used to buy matches and smoke Indian pipes in the Orleans store -----               | 270  |
| 2. Pehē·raha'. The tobacco-----   | 271  |
| 3. Po·hrá·m. The pipe-----  | 271  |
| A. Po·hramxé·hva's. The pipe case-----  | 272  |

|   | Page       |
|---|------------|
| <b>XXIV. Pa'apxanti-te'ihe'raha'. White man tobacco—Con.</b>  |            |
| 4. Pe'kxurika'úhra'a'm. The cigarette-----  | 272        |
| A. Pahú.t pe'kxurika'úhra'a'm 'uθvúyti'hva',<br>karu pahú't pamuevitáv 'uθvúyti'hva'.<br>How the cigarette and its parts are<br>called-----                     | 272        |
| B. Pahú.t pakunkupe'yrúhahiti pe'kxurika'-<br>'úhra'a'm, karu pakunkupe'hé'rahiti'.<br>How they roll and smoke a cigarette-----                                 | 273        |
| C. Pahú.t kunkupavictánni'nuvahiti pe'hé'r<br>pe'kxurika'úhra'a'm. The cigarette<br>habit -----   | 274        |
| D. Pe'kxurika'uhram?áhup. The cigarette<br>holder -----   | 275        |
| E. Pe'kxurika'uhramáhyá'nnářav. Ciga-<br>rette case -----   | 275        |
| 5. Pasik'yá'a. The cigar-----   | 275        |
| A. Pasik'yá· kunkupe'θvúyá'nnahiti'. How<br>cigars are called -----   | 275        |
| B. Pahú.t kunkupe'kyá'hiti karu pahú.t<br>kunkupatárahiti'. How they are<br>made and kept -----   | 276        |
| C. Karu pahú.t kunkupe'hé'rahiti'. And<br>how they are smoked -----   | 276        |
| D. Pasik'yá·h?áhup. The cigar holder-----   | 276        |
| E. Pasik'yá·hmáhyá'nnářav. The cigar case-----  | 277        |
| 6. Papuθe'hé'raha'. Chewing tobacco-----  | 277        |
| 7. Pe'mcakaré'hé'raha'. Snuff-----  | 277        |
| 8. Pahú.t pa'apxantínnihito piccítc kunikyá'va-<br>rihvutihat mit pa'are'hé'raha ve'hé'er. How<br>the white men tried at first to smoke Indian<br>tobacco ----- | 277        |
| <b>Index-----</b>   | <b>279</b> |



## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

---

### PLATES

|  | Page |
|--|------|
| 1. 'Imk'á·nva' <sup>a</sup> n, Mrs. Phoebe Maddux-----   | 2    |
| 2. <i>a</i> , <i>b</i> , 'Uhtcá·mhač, Pete Henry. <i>c</i> , Tcá·kítcha' <sup>a</sup> n, Fritz Hanson-----   | 2    |
| 3. <i>a</i> , <i>b</i> , 'Ixá·yrípa' <sup>a</sup> , Hackett. <i>c</i> , 'Iθé·xyá·vraθ', Tintin.<br><i>d</i> , <i>e</i> , 'Āsnē·piřax, Snappy 'asiktáva' <sup>a</sup> n (a woman). <i>f</i> , Kápítā' <sup>a</sup> n, Capitan-----  | 2    |
| 4. <i>a</i> , Ka'timíř'n vapíkcip, view of Katimin. <i>b</i> , 'Iccipicrihak vapíkcip, view of Ishipishrihak-----  | 2    |
| 5. Reproduction of Plate XXVII of Watson, Sereno, Botany, in King, Clarence, U. S. Geological Exploration of the 40th Parallel, Vol. V, Washington, 1871, opp. p. 276.<br>"1, 2, <i>Nicotiana attenuata</i> . 3, 4, <i>N. bigelovii</i> ." The numbers in our reproduction of the plate are so faint they can scarcely be read. 1 is the specimen at lower right; 2, at lower left; 3, at upper right; 4, at upper center. Reduced to $\frac{1}{2}$ size of Watson's plate, which shows the specimens natural size-----  | 48   |
| 6. <i>Nicotiana bigelovii</i> (Torr.) Watson var. <i>exaltata</i> Setchell.<br>Drawings of a specimen prepared under direction of Prof. W. A. Setchell. Two-valved specimen. 1. 'Ihē·raha'ipaha'ipaha'íppanite pató·θríha', tip of tobacco plant in bloom. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 2. Pehē·raha'afiví·tc vássa' <sup>a</sup> n, basal leaf of tobacco plant [leaf from main axis]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 2'. Pehē·raha'íppankam vássa' <sup>a</sup> n, upper leaf of tobacco plant [leaf from lateral axis]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 3. 'Uhícvá' <sup>a</sup> s karu pamússa' <sup>a</sup> n, capsule with calyx. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 4. 'Iθríha', flower [corolla limb]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 5. 'Iθríha', flower [longitudinal section]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 6. 'Uhícvá' <sup>a</sup> , capsule [transverse section]. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size----- | 48   |
| 7. <i>Nicotiana bigelovii</i> (Torr.) Watson var. <i>exaltata</i> Setchell.<br>Drawings of specimen, prepared under direction of Professor Setchell. Two-valved specimen. 1. 'Ihē·raha'ipaha'íppanite pató·θríha', tip of tobacco plant in bloom. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 2. Sa' <sup>a</sup> n, leaf. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 3. Uhícvá' <sup>a</sup> s karu pamússa' <sup>a</sup> n, capsule with calyx. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 4. 'Iθríha', flower [corolla limb]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 5. 'Iθríha', flower [longitudinal section]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 6. 'Uhícvá' <sup>a</sup> s, capsule [transverse section]. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size-----   | 48   |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 8. <i>Nicotiana bigelovii</i> (Torr.) Watson var. <i>exaltata</i> Setchell.<br>Drawings of a specimen, prepared under direction of Prof. W. A. Setchell. Two-valved specimen. 1. 'Ihē-raha'ipaha'íppanite pató·θriha', tip of tobacco plant in bloom. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 2. Sa' <sup>a</sup> n, leaf. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 3. 'Uhícv'a <sup>s</sup> karu pamússa' <sup>a</sup> n, capsule with calyx. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 4. 'Iθriha', flower [corolla limb]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 5. 'Iθriha', flower [longitudinal section]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 6. 'Iθriha', flower. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 7. 'Uhícv'a <sup>s</sup> , capsule [transverse section]. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size-----  | 48  |
| 9. <i>Nicotiana bigelovii</i> (Tórr.) Watson var. <i>exaltata</i> Setchell.<br>Drawings of a specimen, prepared under direction of Prof. W. A. Setchell. Exceptional three-valved specimen (see p. 60.) 1. 'Ihē-raha'ipaha'íppanite pató·θriha', tip of tobacco plant in bloom. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 2. Sa' <sup>a</sup> n, leaf. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 3. 'Uhícv'a <sup>s</sup> karu pamússa' <sup>a</sup> n, capsule with calyx. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 3'. 'Áxxak 'uhícv'a <sup>s</sup> 'upíkteū·skáhiti', two capsules are bunched together [resulting from twin flowers]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 4. 'Iθriha', flower [corolla limb]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 5. 'Iθriha', flower [longitudinal section]. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 6. 'Iθriha', flower. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. 7. 'Uhícv'a <sup>s</sup> , capsule [transverse section]. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size----- | 48  |
| 10. Pámítva 'ihē-raha'uhθamhíramháñik, 'Imk <sup>y</sup> 'anva <sup>a</sup> n 'ihē-raha' tó·ctū·kti', former tobacco plot, Imk <sup>y</sup> anvan picking tobacco [upslope of Grant Hillman's place, across the river from Orleans]-----   | 48  |
| 11. a, 'Áxxak pavō <sup>o</sup> h, two digging sticks. b, Θúxri <sup>iv</sup> , va <sup>a</sup> mū <sup>k</sup> pehē-raha takunpíθvássip', pamukun <sup>l</sup> ikrívra'm kú <sup>k</sup> takunpíθvává, woven bag in which they carry the tobacco home on their backs. c, 'Ikrívki <sup>ł</sup> , disk seats. d, 'Uhipihíktein, stem-tobacco pestle. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size-----   | 82  |
| 12. 'Iθakíccap pehēraháss'a <sup>n</sup> . Táhpus <sup>s</sup> 'ávahkam takunkíc-cappara <sup>iv</sup> , katasip <sup>l</sup> ávahkam, a bundle of tobacco leaves. They tie Douglas Fir needles outside, outside the bracken [leaves]. 14 inches long, 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches high-----   | 82  |
| 13. Sárum, Jeffrey Pine roots. About $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. a, Sarumpaxaxáxxax', roots of the Jeffrey Pine, first splitting. b, Sarumθarákrak, roots of the Jeffrey Pine, second splitting. c, Sarumθapatappárappu', roots of the Jeffrey Pine, third splitting. d, Sarumkíffuk, weaving strands of the Jeffrey Pine-----   | 102 |

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| 14. Sárip, California Hazel sticks. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size. <i>a</i> , Sárip, prepared shoots of the California Hazel. <i>b</i> , Saripvíkkik, tips of California Hazel sticks trimmed off from a finished basket. [These are used for weaving small baskets]-----   | 102 |
| 15. Panyúfar, Bear Lily. $\frac{3}{4}$ natural size-----   | 102 |
| 16. Panyúrar karu 'ikritápkir, Bear Lily and Maidenhair. <i>a</i> , Panyuraratáxxaþ, a braid of Bear Lily [leaves]. <i>b</i> , Coils of prepared Bear Lily strands ready for weaving. <i>c</i> , 'Ikritapkirkappfíric, Maidenhair leaf-----  | 102 |
| 17. <i>a</i> , 'Ikritápkir, Maidenhair stems [showing one method of tying up; another way is to tie them into a round bunch as shown in <i>f</i> ]. <i>b</i> , 'A'sn, Iris twine [used for tying Maidenhair stems into a bundle]. <i>c</i> , Táðóipaþ, carding stick through the crack in the end of which the Maidenhair stems are pulled before they are split. <i>d</i> , Bunch of the reddish "backs" which have been split from the "fronts" and are to be thrown away. <i>e</i> , To'kya'hahiti', takkari pakunvíkk'are'ec, bunch of the prepared blackish "fronts" already prepared for weaving. <i>f</i> , 'Ikritápkir, Maidenhair stems [tied into a bundle]----- | 110 |
| 18. Pahú't kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhspnu'uk, how they start the tobacco basket. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. <i>A-B</i> , Pahú't papiccí·te kunkupa'áffé·hiti', how they first start. Pakú'kam 'u'ávahkamhitih'e'ec payé·m va' 'ávahkamtah, the obverse will be the outside [of the bottom of the basket]. <i>A</i> , Obverse. <i>B</i> , Obverse-----  | 110 |
| 19. Pahú't kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhspnu'uk, how they start the tobacco basket. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. <i>C-H</i> , Pahú't kunkupatáyí·θahiti', how they lash the base. <i>C, D, E</i> , Obverse. <i>F</i> , Obverse, one-quarter turn to left from <i>E</i> . <i>G</i> , Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>F</i> . <i>H</i> , Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>G</i> -----  | 110 |
| 20. Pahú't kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhspnu'uk, how they start the tobacco basket. $\frac{1}{2}$ natural size. <i>I-N</i> , Pahú't kunkupatáyí·θahiti', how they lash the base [continued]. <i>I</i> , Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>H</i> . <i>J</i> , Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>I</i> . <i>K</i> , Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>J</i> . <i>L</i> , Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>K</i> . <i>M</i> , Obverse, one-quarter turn to left from <i>L</i> . <i>N</i> , Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from <i>M</i> -----  | 110 |

21. Pahú·t kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhsípnu'úk, how they start the tobacco basket.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. *O-T*, Pahú·t kunkupatáyí·θahahiti', how they lash the base [continued]. *O*, Observe, reversed on vertical axis from *N*. *P*, Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from *O*. *Q*, Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from *P*. *R*, Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from *Q*. *S*, Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from *R*. *T*, Reverse, reversed on vertical axis from *S*----- 110

22. Pahú·t kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhsípnu'úk, how they start the tobacco basket.  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. *U-W*, Yíθθa takunipvíkkirð·piθva', piθθ passárip takunpicríkk'yas'-rar, they weave one course, taking four hazel sticks at a time. Pakú·kam 'u'ávahkamhitih'e'c payé'm va;  
'ávahkamtah, hitíha;  
n 'u'ávahkamhitih'e'c. What is going to be the outside [of the bottom] of the basket is on top [obverse] now, it is going to be on top all the time [it will not be turned over any more after this]. *X-Z*, Kutiáramsiprivti', paká;  
n takunáramsiþ, sárip karu sárum takunyákkuri kyá;  
n, they start to twine with three strands, where they start to three-strand twine they always insert both a hazel stick and a pine-root strand. *U*, Obverse, reversed on vertical axis from *T*. *V, W, X, Y, Z*, Obverse----- 110

23. Pa'uhsipnúkvík, the unfinished tobacco basket. *a*, Pa'uhsipnúkvík, 'utakrávahiti su?, the unfinished tobacco basket with the hoop inside. *b*, Va; pa'uhsípnu'úk, pakari a? tuvð·ruiar, the tobacco basket when it starts to go up. 'Áxxak vura passárum panyúrar 'u'ávahkamhití', both of the pine-root strands have bear lily on top----- 124

24. Pa'uhsípnu'úk, muθxúppar vúr 'u'í·fk'yuti', kari púva tákukáhiti', kari takúkkwí·pux, the tobacco basket together with its cover before they are cleaned out, not cleaned out yet----- 124

25. Pa'uhsípnu'úk karu pakah?uhsípnu'úk, the tobacco basket and the upriver tobacco basket. *a*, Pa'uhsípnu'úk patupíkyá·rahiti', pamuθxúppar 'umhitaráricrihvá', the finished tobacco basket with its cover tied on. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. *b*, Pakah?uhsípnu'úk, 'a;  
n kunsáriphiti', the upriver tobacco basket, they use iris twine for hazel sticks----- 124

26. *a*, Kahápx'a<sup>an</sup>, 'í·θk्या 'áffiv 'ukríxxavkuti', upriver hat with a bunch of feathers on its top [National Museum specimen no. 24075, Klamath woman's hat, see p. 127, fn.]. *b*, Kahápx'a<sup>an</sup>, upriver hat [National Museum specimen no. 19293, McCloud River woman's hat, see p. 129, fn.]. *c*, Va<sub>z</sub> vura kumakahápx'a<sup>an</sup>, 'uhsp-nuk?íkyáv, the same upriver hat being made into a tobacco basket. *d*, Va<sub>z</sub> vura kumakahápx'a<sup>an</sup>, patu-píkyá·rahiti pa'uhsf'pnu'<sup>uk</sup>, the same upriver hat when already made into a tobacco basket----- 124

27. Payíθθúva k<sup>y</sup>ð·k mit kuma'úhra<sup>2m</sup>, the different kinds of pipe that there used to be. *a*, Yuxtcananite<sup>č</sup>itat-kurihavaraxavic<sup>č</sup>úhra<sup>2m</sup>, abalone inlaid arrowwood pipe (Nat. Mus. No. 278471, collected by F. E. Gist. 5½ inches long. See pp. 165–166.) *b*, Fašip<sup>č</sup>uhram<sup>č</sup>ik-k<sup>y</sup>ð·rar, manzanita pipe with a stone pipe bowl. Specimen made by Yas and bought from Benny Tom. 5½ inches long. See p. 166. The detached bowl of this pipe is the whitish specimen shown in Pl. 32, *c*. *c*, Xavic<sup>č</sup>uhram<sup>č</sup>ik<sup>y</sup>ð·ri<sup>č</sup>pux, xavic<sup>č</sup>úhnā·m'mític, arrowwood pipe without stone pipe bowl, little arrowwood pipe. Made by Hackett. 3½ inches long. See p. 165. *d*, 'Uhrá<sub>m</sub> apxantinihitc<sup>č</sup>úhra<sub>m</sub> kunic kuniyá·ttihat, pipe made like a White man pipe (Nat. Mus. No. 278473, collected by F. E. Gist, "cut entirely from wood, the form representing a hand holding the bowl." 3½ inches long. See p. 136, fn.). *e*, Xavic<sup>č</sup>uhram<sup>č</sup>ik-k<sup>y</sup>ð·rar, 'uhnámxanahyá·atc, arrowwood pipe with a stone pipe bowl, a slender pipe. Made by Fritz Hanson. 4 inches long. See p. 165. [Specimens *a* and *b* are also shown in Pl. 30]----- 164

28. Yuxtcánnanite karu yuxθáran, small and large abalone pendants. ½ natural size. *a*, Yuxθáran, va<sub>z</sub> pay k<sup>y</sup>ð·k kumayuxθáran payáffusak 'ukrixavkó·hiti', abalone pendants, the kind that are hung on women's [buckskin] dresses. *b*, Yuxtcánnanite, va<sub>z</sub> pay k<sup>y</sup>ð·k 'ifuni-ha'íppanite kunick<sup>y</sup>áskó·tti pa'asiktáva·nsa', abalone pendants, the kind that the women bunch at the end of their hair [braids]----- 164

29. Payiθθúva k'yōk mit kuma'úhra:m karu yíθθa xé:hva:s, iκxurikakēmitcak?ú:ssurapu pe:kxúrik, different kinds of pipes that there used to be and one pipe sack, copied from an old book [reproduction of Powers, The Indians of California, Fig. 43, opp. p. 426, accompanying his chapter on "Aboriginal Botany." Reduced  $\frac{1}{2}$  from Powers' figure. These pipes and pipe sack have been identified by the author as follows: No. 1 = Nat. Mus. No. 19301, McCloud River, Calif., collected by L. Stone=Mason, Pl. 16, No. 69 = McGuire, Fig. 33 (mistitled by McGuire "wood and stone pipe"). No. 2 = Nat. Mus. No. 21399, Feather River, Calif., collected by Stephen Powers=Mason, Pl. 15, No. 62 = McGuire, Fig. 26. No. 3 = Nat. Mus. No. 21400, Potter Valley, Calif., collected by Stephen Powers=Mason, Pl. 15, No. 64 = McGuire, Fig. 27. No. 4. Diligent search fails to find this in the Nat. Mus. collections. No. 5 = Nat. Mus. No. 19303, McCloud River, Calif., collected by L. Stone=Mason, Pl. 15, No. 61 = McGuire, Fig. 25. No. 6 = probably Mason, Pl. 15, No. 66 = McGuire, Fig. 30. No. 7. This pipe sack can not be located in the Nat. Mus. collections. No. 8 = possibly Nat. Mus. No. 21306, Hupa, Calif., collected by Stephen Powers = possibly Mason, Pl. 16, No. 72 = McGuire, Fig. 36.] ----- 164

30. Xavic'uhram?íkyav; tó:tárukáhina:ti su?; 'íppankam takun?iyvá:yramni pa:aθkúrit; kákum tó:tá:vahina:ti 'ávahkám; karu píθ pa:úhra:m tupíkyá:rahiti'. Yíθθa faip?úhra:s, arrowwood pipes in the making; they have been dug out; oil has been spilled in on top; some of them have been dressed on the outside; and four finished pipes. One is a manzanita pipe, the third from the right-hand end. [Fourth from last and last specimen are also shown in Pl. 34; third and second from last specimen are also shown in Pl. 27.]  $\frac{1}{4}$  natural size ----- 164

31. 'Ik'yō'rás, Pipe Bowl Rock ----- 164

32. a, Pa'asaxús:as Ka'tim?ín?ásti:p vá:as, the Soft Soapstone Rock by the river at Katimin. b, Va:ká:n pakuniknansúr:ti pe:kk'yō:r Pa'asaxus?asa'ávahkám, where pipe bowls have been pecked off on top of the Soft Soapstone Rock. c, 'Áxxak pe:kk'yō:r, 'áxxak vura asáxxu:s po:kyá:rahiti', two pipe bowls, both made of soft soapstone. Pipe bowls  $\frac{1}{2}$  natural size. The whitish appearing specimen is that of the pipe shown in Pl. 27, b ----- 164

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| 33. <i>a</i> , Pahú·t kunkupattárukkahiti pakunníhai, payú·v kuni-hyákkurihe·cirak, how they dig out the arrow where the foreshaft is going to be inserted. Shown for comparison with digging out of pipe bowl. <i>b</i> , 'Ipám̄la'·n, sinew thread [such as is used for sewing pipe sacks]. <i>c</i> , <i>d</i> , Yiøøúva kuma'íppam̄, various kinds of sinew: <i>c</i> , 'Ipamké·mičcas, ordinary sinews. <i>d</i> , 'Apsihl'íppam̄, leg sinew. <i>e</i> , 'Ipamxíppu'·n, connective tissue of sinew. <i>b</i> , <i>c</i> , <i>d</i> , <i>e</i> . $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size-----  | 172  |
| 34. Xé·hva'·s, pipe sacks. $\frac{1}{3}$ natural size. <i>a</i> , 'Ikritiptipahitihanxé·hva'·s 'ührá·m 'uhýá·rahiti', fringed pipe sack with a pipe in it [pipe and pipe sack made by Tcá·kítcha'·n]. <i>b</i> , Pa'úhra'·m, the pipe. <i>c</i> , Xe·hvás?í-kyá·, tuvúyá·hiti', pipe sack in the making, that has been cut out [to fit the pipe shown as <i>b</i> of this plate]. <i>d</i> , Pavastá·an, pamukíccapárahe'·c, the thong that it is going to be tied with. <i>e</i> , Paxé·hva'·s, 'ührá·m su? 'úkri'·, the pipe sack with the pipe [that is shown as <i>b</i> of this plate] inside it. [Pipe sack made by Imkýavan.] Specimens <i>a</i> (the pipe) and <i>b</i> are also shown in Pl. 30----- | 172  |
| 35. 'Iøé·xyá·vraθ 'uëimyúricríhti', Tintin is making a fire with Indian matches [fire sticks]-----  | 184  |
| 36. Teiríxxu'·s, ceremonial buckskin bags. Models made by Mrs. Mary Ike. <i>a</i> , Large bag, $7\frac{1}{16}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches wide. <i>b</i> , Small bag, $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches long, 3 inches wide. <i>c</i> , Small bag, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches long, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide-----  | 184  |

## TEXT FIGURES

|   |      |
|---|------|
| 1. The Karuk phonems-----                     | XXXV |
| 2. Map showing places visited by Douglas----- | 20   |
| • 63044°—32—3                                 |      |

## PHONETIC KEY

### VOWELS

#### Unnasalized vowels:

|            |                                  |
|------------|----------------------------------|
| a, a'----- | 'árá·ras, people.                |
| æ, æ'----- | yé·háé, well!                    |
| e, e'----- | pehé·raha', tobacco.             |
| i, i'----- | pihní·ttcífcas, old men.         |
| o, o'----- | kohomayá·tc kô·, the right size. |
| u, u'----- | 'ú·θ 'ukrâ·m, out in the lake.   |

#### Nasalized vowel:

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| á'----- | há·, yes. The only word that has a nasalized vowel. |
|---------|---|

#### Diphthongs<sup>1</sup>:

|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| ay, a'y----- | 'uvúrayvutí', he is going around. 'áttay, salmon eggs. ta'a'y, much. |
| oy, o'y----- | hó'óy, where?  |
| uy, u'y----- | 'uyccárahiti', it is mixed. 'ú'y, mountain.                          |

### CONSONANTS

#### Laryngeal:

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| ' <sup>2</sup> ----- | 'as, stone. 'u'a·mti', he is eating. ? <sup>2</sup> su?, inside. Ka?tim?i'n, Katimin. <sup>3</sup> |
| h <sup>2</sup> ----- | háriñay, year. 'akrâ·h, eel.   |

#### Radical:

|            |   |
|------------|---|
| x, xx----- | xas, then. 'u'u'x, it is bitter. 'áxxak, two. |
|------------|---|

#### Dorsal:

|            |                                    |
|------------|------------------------------------|
| k, kk----- | kári, then. 'u'ákkati', it tastes. |
|------------|------------------------------------|

#### Antedorasal:

|                      |            |
|----------------------|------------|
| y <sup>2</sup> ----- | yav, good. |
|----------------------|------------|

#### Frontal:

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| t, tt----- | tayâv, all right. kunkupítii', they do that way. 'íttañ, to-day. |
| θ, θθ----- | θúkkinkúníc, yellow. yíθθa', one.                                |
| s, ss----- | sárum, pine roots. 'a's, water. vâssi', back (of body).          |
| c, cc----- | tu'ycíp, mountain. 'íccaha', water.                              |

<sup>1</sup> w is represented in this paper by v, with the result that there are no diphthongs having w or "u" as second element.

<sup>2</sup> Does not occur long.

<sup>3</sup> We use the two symbols merely for convenience in writing the various positions of the glottal clusive.

### Frontal—Continued.

|                      |                    |                       |
|----------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|
| tc, ttc-----         | tcó'ra, let us go. | pihníttcič, old man.  |
| r <sup>3</sup> ----- | 'ára'ar, person.   |                       |
| n, nn-----           | nu'u, we.          | 'únnuhitč, kidney     |
| Labial:              |                    |                       |
| p, pp-----           | pay, this.         | 'íppi', bone.         |
| f, ff-----           | fíoo'i', foot.     | 'íffuø, behind.       |
| v <sup>4</sup> ----- | vúfa, it is.       | 'áván, male, husband. |
|                      | die.               | 'iv, to               |
| m, mm-----           | ma'aθ, heavy.      | 'á'm'ma, salmon.      |

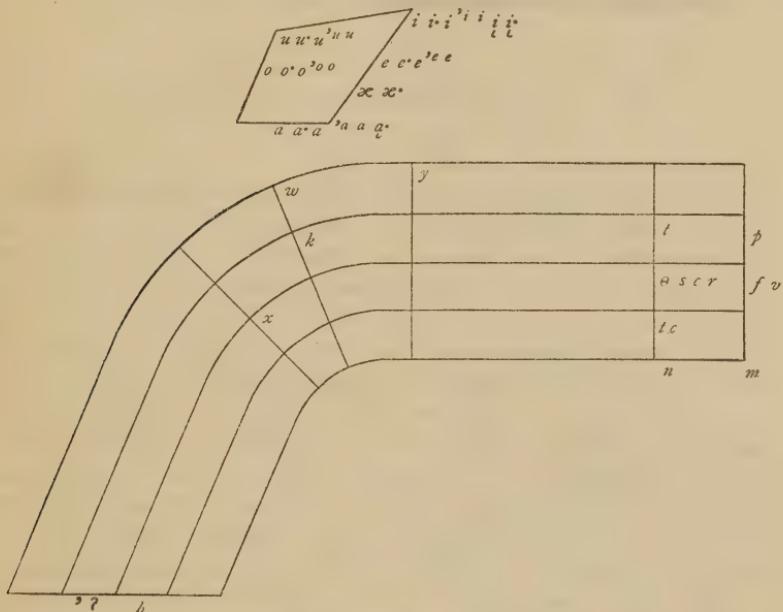


FIGURE 1.—The Karuk phonems

## DIACRITICALS

Length:

### Unmarked: short

· : long

### Pitch:

' ; high

• right  
• middle

low

" : final atonic, lower than "

<sup>3</sup> It does not begin words or double

<sup>4</sup> Does not occur long.

Level and falling tones:

Unmarked: short or level

~ : high or middle falling

^ : low falling

^ : low falling atonic

Additional marks:

~ : inlaut form of ~

: inlaut form of ^

: inlaut form of ^

. : indicating detached pronunciation of t.s and t.c

. : indicating vowel nasalization

# TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA

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By JOHN P. HARRINGTON

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## I. Pitapvavaθtcú·pha'

### INTRODUCTION

Knowledge and practice of the California Indians with regard to tobacco has up to the present time been insufficiently explored. There is practically no literature on the subject. Furthermore, the method pursued by others has been wrong. A constant basing of the study upon language is the only path to correctness and completeness. Every act and status must be traced through language to the psychology and mythology behind it. Without the linguistic method, error lurks near in every item of information.

Starting with the picturesque Karuk tribe of northwestern California, whose tobacco knowledge constitutes the present section of this presentation, we shall formulate our gleanings from carefully selected tribes of several diversified areas throughout the State. For each tribe the presentation will include quoting of previous literature; determination of the variety of the tobacco used; description of gathering, curing, and storing; infumation, its instruments, appurtenances, procedure and customs; other uses of tobacco; other plants mixed with or used like tobacco; other plants smoked; tobacco as *materia medica*, in shamanism, in ceremony, in mythology; tobacconal vocabulary, expressions and proverbs. Finally, at the conclusion of these findings there will be a summing up and building together, difficult to write until the details from the varying areas have been duly worked over and presented.

The first section, here printed, records the tobacco knowledge of the Karuk, the second tribe encountered as one proceeds up the Klamath River from its mouth. This tribe centers about Orleans, Katimin, Clear Creek, and Happy Camp, in Humboldt and Siskiyou Counties. The tribe or language is called Pehtsik or Arra-arrá by Gibbs, Ara by Gatschet, Quoratean by Powell, Ehnek and

Ehnikan by Curtin, and Ká-rok, Ka'-rok, and Karok by Powers,<sup>1</sup> evidently writing o by analogy with "Mo'-dok," for he spells very correctly "ká-ruk, up east" and misspells only the tribe name. Karok is the mutilated incomplete first half of the native descriptive term Káruk Va'ára'sr, Upriver Person, or Káruk Kuma'ára'sr, Upriver Kind of Person, a combination of words which can be, but scarcely is once in a lifetime, used to designate the tribe. The old and correct tribal designation is 'A·tcip Va'ára'sr (Áchip Vaárar) <sup>1a</sup> or 'Iθivθanén'ñ·a·tcip Va'ára'sr (Ithivthanénachip Vaárar), Middle of the World Person; also expressions for "we," "we people," "our people," "our kind of people," and the like.

The information was largely obtained from 'Imk'yánva'sn (Imk'yánvan) (Mrs. Phoebe Maddux) (pl. 1) to whose linguistic genius and patient striving after knowledge the success of the present section of this paper is largely due, with the help of various older Indians: Ya'ss (Yas), 'Uhtcá·mhaṭc (Pete Henry) (pl. 2, a, b), Tcá·kítcha'sn (Fritz Hanson) (pl. 2, c), 'Icxá·yrípa'sa (Hackett) (pl. 3, a, b), 'Iθé·xyá·vrað (Tintin) (pl. 3, c), 'Ásné·piřax (Snappy) ('asiktáva'sn, a woman) (pl. 3, d, e), John Pepper, 'Akraman'áhu'u (Sandybar Jim), Kápítá'sn (Capitan) (pl. 3, f), Pasamvaró·tti'm (Ned), and several others. The texts and Karuk words in this paper are all in the downriver dialect of Karuk as spoken at Ka'tim'iñ'n (Katimin), (pl. 4, a), on the southeast side of the Klamath River, and at 'Iccipícríhak (Ishipishrihak) (pl. 4, b), on the northwest bank of the Klamath opposite Katimin, Mrs. Maddux being of Ishipishrihak ancestry and raised at that village.

Bearing out the policy of emphasizing the Indian language, we have also tried to retain in the English translation as much as possible of the Karuk English, a peculiar dialect of northern California English modified by the Karuk language. This Karuk English presents a rich and surprising field for philological study. Operating with a limited number of English words, which amount to the partial vocabulary of the farmers and miners who first settled in the country, with more modern terms and colloquialisms added, this dialect stretches the meanings of words, making them do double or triple service, and is molded by Karuk idiom and especially by the remarkable com-

<sup>1</sup> Powers, Stephen, Tribes of California, Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. 3, Washington, 1877. The standard spelling adopted by Powers is Karok, with o to agree with Modoc, as shown by his listing of "Yú-rok, Ka'-rok, and Mo'-dok" (p. 19); he thought the Karuk words had the same ending as Modoc. Gibbs, George, Bur. Amer. Ethn., MS. 846, collected on the Klamath River, 1852, under the letter T, has already "up (a river) kah-ruk," with the correct u.



MRS. PHOEBE MADDUX, CHIEF INFORMANT



*a*



*b*



*c*

INFORMANTS.  
*a, b*, Pete Henry; *c*, Fritz Hanson.



c



e



f



INFORMANTS  
a, b, Hackett; c, Tintin; d, e, Snappy; f, Capitan.





a. Katimin rancheria



b. Ishipishrihak rancheria



pounding of the Karuk language, with the result that occasionally English words are put together in a very original and poetic way. The rendering of Indian texts and expressions in this dialect is a valuable record, and to change it completely into "high English" would destroy this record and remove the translation far from its original form. One will therefore find in the following pages frequent lapses into Indian English, and retention of such words as "to pack," meaning to carry; "to spill," instead of to pour; "to mock," instead of to imitate; "to growl," for to scold. His wife is "his woman." Mount Shasta is still "Shasty Butte." A cradle is a "baby basket." The sweathouse is contrasted with "the living house." A wood-pecker scalp is "a woodpecker head." We here boldly keep "pipe sack," "arrow sack," "jump dance," "kick song," "acorn soup," "pack basket," "baby basket," and many other compounds and choices of words, following the local dialect. The future is mostly formed by the auxiliary "going."

A few Karuk words, such as names of persons and places, and other words which do not lend themselves readily to translation in English, have been given in the English part of the paper in simplified orthography, but the strict Indian original can also always be found.

The Karuk are closely identified in culture with the Yuruk Indians of the lowest stretch of the Klamath River and adjacent coast and with the Hupa of the lower Trinity River, the largest southern tributary of the Klamath. According to the Karuks' own impression, Yuruk and Hupa are larger, fatter, redder Indians than themselves. The Indians of the upper Salmon River, another southern tributary of the Klamath, are felt to be quite different in culture, although more directly in contact with the Karuk than are the Hupa. The Shasta Indians, holding the Klamath for a long part of its course immediately upstream of the Karuk, belong in culture with the Salmon River Indians. The Smith River tribe, bordering on the Karuk to the north and west, were their enemies, and cut them off from intercourse with other tribes in that direction.

The Karuk know the names of a surprising number of other tribes, including some far to the east. All good things were believed to come down the Klamath River, and the tribe of Klamath and Modoc Indians at the head of the river, famed as warriors and as holders of the Klamath Lakes in the mud of which dentalium money was believed to grow and be obtained, were almost deified, and were held to be the dwellers of the northern end of the world.<sup>2</sup> Occasion-

<sup>2</sup> Even the White man came down the river from the great region of the Klamath Lakes, and horse is still occasionally called *yuras-tcicci'h* (Klamath) lake dog, or *kahtcicci'h*, upriver dog, instead of the usual mere *tcicci'h*, dog.

ally the Klamath were visited by Karuks. It was commoner for Karuk men to take a trip downriver, often as far as the mouth of the river. Of the location of the coast tribes the same adverb was used as when indicating position out in a lake or out in a river. The Humboldt Bay tribe was the farthest one south along the coast and the Smith River tribe the farthest north along the coast for which they had names.

The Karuk were typical river Indians, and many features of their life strike one who has made a study of coast Indians as very similar. Their houses were all "downslope," and faced the river, the door being commonly in the upriver portion of the front of the house. They were built of native hewn boards and were very warm and comfortable in winter. They were clustered in 'arári'k, or rancherias, which contained in addition to the living houses, sweathouses for the men and boys, in which they slept, conversed, and told stories, and which they heated up for sweating at least twice a day. The living houses were reserved for the women and girls, and all the cooking and eating and storing of food and most other property was done in them. It is very rare for a living house or sweathouse to have a name; they are usually called by the name of the site where they stand.

The rancherias contained no rancheria chief. Whatever ruling was done was by the heads of the houses. Each house had its owner, often a leader of feuds between families. Each of the several sweat-houses of the rancherias also belonged to a family or was frequented only by members of certain families. The valuable fisheries along the river and the acorn plots upslope were owned by individuals and families.

Marriage was fixed up by older people, as it is to varying extent the world over. The common way to arrange marriage was for the man, who was the buyer of his bride, to send another man, called 'unáva'n, go-between, to the father of the girl, and if the price was right, she married (*tuyáraraha'*, she marries), going a week or so later to the husband's house, where she reared her family, formed new friendships, and was buried when she died.<sup>3</sup> A less usual method of arranging marriage was when the girl herself *to'só'm'va*, goes as an applicant for marriage. She is accompanied by two men, the expedition being arranged by the girl's father, or the one who has her to sell. They go, after previous understanding that the girl will be accepted, to the house of the man to whom she is offered, the girl packing a pack

<sup>3</sup> If a woman dies when on a visit to her parents' rancheria, her body is carried to be buried at the rancheria of her husband; if she is buried for any reason at the rancheria of her parents, payment has to be made to her husband or to his kin.

basket full of material and baskets for making acorn soup, and the men carrying a quiver each. On her arrival, the girl starts to make acorn soup, and if the arrangement is accepted, she is allowed to proceed, the men exchange their quivers for others, and go home the next day, carrying with them the payment for the girl and leaving her there as a married woman without further ceremony. There is another kind of marriage distinct from the above, in which it is said of the man *tuvō-nfur*, he enters. By this arrangement the man goes to live at the house of the girl and the payment made for her is small, but some payment is always made. The reasons for such marriages are that the girl's family may be rich, she may be needed or desired by her kindred to remain at home and carry on the work of the house, or the man may be poor or homely or may have caused the girl to have a child without payment having been made. The girls by such a marriage belong partly to the wife's kin, and a man who marries in this way is not looked upon as a rich man.

At every rancheria there were rich men, called *yá's'ára*, and poor men, called usually with disrespectful or pitying diminutive *'anana-kānnimhítc*. "As among the Whites," there were many more of the latter than of the former. Sometimes, however, a small rancheria would be noted for the richness of its few inhabitants.

Before the Whiteman turned his pigs upon the acorn patches and his firearms upon the deer and other game, and before his mines ruled the river and his canneries caught the salmon ere they could come upstream, the Karuk had an abundance of food and a great variety. So wholesome and harmless was food of all kinds that it could be given to young children. *Pa'avahayécci'p*, "the best food," and by this they mean the staple food, is acorn soup and salmon. Next after these in importance, the informants mention, with pleasure at the thought, *puffte'i'c*, deer meat. Greens, berries, Indian potatoes, nuts, and different kinds of game furnished a delicious diet.

The Karuk boys and men enjoyed all the freedom which white boys have at the old swimming pool. Their costume, or rather custom, was the most athletic and healthful possible, which was none at all. According to old Tintin: "Indian boy no more clothes on, he so glad of it he never will put 'em on." A man would start out on a trip in summer up or down the river with absolutely nothing on but his quiver, into which some lunch, his pipe in its pipe sack and perhaps Indian money or other small articles had been tucked; he visited various rancherias in this condition and the warm air of their sweatshouses was his covering at night; he slept in them absolutely naked and without mattress under him or blanket over him, lying on the warm flagstones, and if bothered with sleeplessness he would go out in the night and jump in the river and return to have a delicious sleep, or he would take a smoke of the strong Indian tobacco and

go to sleep, or both bathe and smoke. The common clothing of the women was a maple-bast petticoat, called pavírutva', the kind still worn by doctresses at kick dances; this was replaced at times by a "dress-up dress" consisting of a large and often heavy deerskin back flap, called yáffuš, and an apron, called tánta'<sup>a</sup>v, made of strings of Digger Pine nuts ('axyū's) or juniper seeds ('ip).

Daily life started with the morning sweat and plunge into the river or splashing of water over themselves at the spring by the men and boys, while the women and girls, who slept in the living houses, got up a little later and took their bath without sweating. The morning meal or breakfast came rather late, at about 8 or 9 o'clock, after which all went upon their chores or trips of the day. In the late afternoon the men prepared to sweat again, and sweating and bathing occupied their time until about sundown, or even later, when they went to the living house for the second and only hearty meal of the day. All ate together in the living house and considerable time was spent over the meal, the acorn soup being sipped slowly, with much conversation. Shortly after this meal the men and boys went over to the sweathouse, where they conversed further, some of them sometimes sitting up until quite late before going to sleep.

The larger rancherias generally had more than one burying plot. When a death occurred, the corpse was buried on the same or the following day. It was tied on a board soon after death with the face up. Water, acorn soup, and acorn meal that had already been ground up preparatory to making acorn soup which happened to be in the houses of the rancheria were spilled out. On the day of the burial, people of the rancheria who desired to eat carried food with them across the river or across some water before eating. The grave is dug by male relatives just before burial. The dead person is not taken through the door of the house, but a board or two is removed from the wall of the house to furnish exit. The dead person is removed from the board on which he has been tied and is tied on another board before burial. The person is buried with head upriver. Shredded iris leaves, prepared for making string, are burned before the grave is filled in, if the person is a man, but bear lily leaves, prepared for basketry overlay, if it is a woman. The evening of the day of the burial a basketry hopper is hung on a stick fixed so that it projects by the door of the house where the death occurred, a coil of bear lily leaves being placed on the stick so that they hung inside the hopper, for the purpose of scaring the spirit from entering the house. This hopper and coil were again hung in the same way the evening of the fourth day after the death occurred. The grave digger or diggers and the relative or relatives most immediately affected ate apart from other people for four days after the death occurred, making a separate fire upon the floor of the living house, aside from the

fireplace. Each evening as it got dark food was burned on the grave, a fire being built at the head of the grave, and acorns, dried salmon, and the like being placed on an openwork plate which is then put in the fire and burned. The fourth evening the belongings of the dead person were packed upslope and deposited somewhere to get rid of them; they were not burned. The morning of the fifth day after the death occurred the grave digger or diggers and the relative or relatives most in mourning, male and female, sweated themselves in the sweat-house, after which they bathed, and then applied brush medicine to their bodies and drank some of the same medicine.

The principal ceremonies of the Karuk were the spring salmon ceremony at Amekyaram, the jump dance at Amekyaram, and the new year ceremony at Clear Creek, Katimin, and Orleans.

The spring salmon ceremony was held at the beginning of the April moon, the medicine man officiating having stayed in the sweat-house for a month previous. It was called *saruk'ámku*"f, downslope smoke, also *'frurávahiv*, meaning what they get away from.<sup>4</sup> The first salmon of the year was cut up and roasted by the medicine man. It was forbidden that anyone should look at the smoke which rose from this fire; even the medicine man himself and his helper did not look up. Of the smoke it was said: *Kunníha kunic u'i-hya'*, *pay-nanu'ávahkam 'upáttcakuti pa'ámku*"f, it is just like an arrow sticking up, that smoke, it reaches to heaven. Everyone was afraid to look at that smoke, from Requa, at the mouth of the Klamath, to Happy Camp, or as far upriver as it could be seen. The medicine man remained in the sweathouse for 10 days after making the smoke. Only after this ceremony was it permissible to catch salmon. The ceremony gives name to one of the months.

The jump dance at Amekyaram, held at the beginning of July, was much talked of and also gave its name to one of the months. Any jump dance is called *vhuhákka*"m, meaning big deerskin dance, but this jump dance at Amekyaram was called also by the special name *'áhavárahi*v. It was last held in July, 1895. It was danced every day and evening for 10 days. Two men sang and a row of men danced.

The new year ceremony was held in order to refix the world for another year. It was held at Clear Creek in August, and at Katimin and Orleans simultaneously in September. It is still held at Clear Creek and at Katimin, but has been discontinued at Orleans since 1912. For the first 10 days of the ceremony the medicine man builds a fire at a different shrine upslope each day, and as he goes up the hill there follows behind him a party of men and boys who target-shoot with arrows at different prescribed places along the route. This sec-

<sup>4</sup> Referring to the smoke.

tion of the ceremony is called 'iceriv, meaning target shooting. It is followed by an all-night vigil by the medicine man on the night of the tenth day, he standing by an altar and facing a mountain, while a deerskin dance or play deerskin dance is being performed. This part of the ceremony is called 'irahiv. The medicine man remains in the sweathouse for five nights after the conclusion of the ceremony; for 10 nights if he is officiating for the first time. The medicine man takes his seat in the sweathouse when the target shooting ceremony starts.

Doctors acquired and kept their status by performing the ceremony of mountain pilgrimages, which were usually accompanied by the doctor dancing in the sweathouse. Women doctors have in recent times outnumbered men doctors, and this probably holds true for earlier times. Text material on the method of curing by doctors is presented in this paper.

The kick dance, a communal sing held for the benefit of a doctor who has been sick, is an interesting institution, since it calls forth the composition of songs with original words by various individuals. Indian men, women, and children, anyone that wants to come, assemble at the house of the doctor for an all-night sing. Formerly the meeting was held in a sweathouse. The room is dark. The doctor stands and dances. All others present sit and sing, kicking the floor in time to the song.

Myths (pikvah) were told only in the wintertime, at night, both in the sweathouse and in the living house. They were told mostly lying down. Sometimes a man and boy would lie facing each other in the sweathouse, and the boy would repeat the myth as it was told him by the man, a passage at a time. An old woman would teach a myth to a girl in this same way in the living house. Myths and the interspersed songs were transmitted in this way with considerable exactness.

Everything that the Karuk did was enacted because the Ikkxareyavs were believed to have set the example in story times. The Ikkxareyavs were the people who were in America before the Indians came. Modern Karuks, in a quandary how to render the word, volunteer such translations as "the princes," "the chiefs," "the angels." These Ikkxareyavs were old-time people, who turned into animals, plants, rocks, mountains, plots of ground, and even parts of the house, dances, and abstractions when the Karuk came to the country, remaining with the Karuk only long enough to state and start all customs, telling them in every instance, "Human will do the same." These doings and sayings are still related and quoted in the medicine formulae of the Karuk. Several of the Ikkxareyavs are known by name, such as 'Ieyarukphiri'iv, Across Water Widower. There is mentioned a special class of Ikkxareyavs called Kitaxrihars, meaning

winged, which were savage or wild, and which petrified into various rocks. There is a group of these rocks at Katimin, representing several individuals, who sometimes cause visiting strangers to get hurt at the time of the new year ceremony. The Katimin Indians have medicine formulae for curing such individuals when they have suffered some accident. The majority of Ikkareyav's are known only by the name of the animal, particular rock (placename), or the like which they have been transformed into. The period of the Ikkareyav's is supposed to lie only a few generations back.

The Karuk were not farmers, and yet they were not without agriculture. I would scarcely know where to point to another region in all the world where people cultivated only one plant. And this sole position in Karuk agriculture was occupied, not by a food plant, but by a drug; not by a plant which has been lost in nature, but by one growing still wild all over the Karuk country, but which the Indians were cultivating and endeavoring to breed along a different road from the wild tobacco by always sowing seed taken from their tobacco gardens, solely for the purpose of making it "ikpíhañ," strong,

They had as pets their dogs, bear cubs, raccoons, skunks, California Woodpeckers, but only one plant pet, which was tobacco. This tobacco was *Nicotiana bigelovii* of the tall northern California form, the plant mentioned in the account of Sir Francis Drake's visit among northern California coast Indians and first described as being raised in gardens by the Indians of Trinidad in the diary of the Bodega voyage. Their agriculture consisted of producing potash for raising tobacco by burning logs and brush at the site of the garden to be sometime previous to the sowing, of scattering the seeds at the right season, of harrowing the seed in, of weeding the plants, and of harvesting the leaves, stems and seeds with careful attention, extending over a considerable period. What they did not do was to till the soil about the plants, which was unnecessary and closely approached in process by their dragging a bush over the sown ground and by weeding, and to irrigate or water them, which was unnecessary.

The curing of the tobacco was less complicated than its cultivation, and the interesting point is that leaf tobacco and stem tobacco were segregated as separate products and assigned separate uses. The stem tobacco, weak and woody, a cheap by-product, pounded up to look something like leaf tobacco, is sometimes offered to some poor, low-caste visitor at a house to smoke, or is mixed with leaf tobacco to adulterate the latter. The strict and stingy money basis of northwest coast and California coast culture and the attitude of human religion in general are curiously illuminated by the fact that the chief use of this poor, cheap stem tobacco was as an "offering" to the Ikkareyav's made by hunters, priests of ceremony, doctors and others. The leaf tobacco was saved to be smoked by men; the

stem tobacco was thrown to the gods! And this with no belittling of the gods, but because it was the custom.

For storing tobacco, and leaf tobacco was the only kind to the storing of which any attention was paid, various containers were used, commonly a basket resembling the money or trinket basket of these Indians, but differing from it in some details. These baskets were distinct, and had a distinct name. Occasionally an upriver (Shasta) tobacco basket found its way among these Indians, or an upriver hat was transformed into a tobacco basket, although such a hat was never used by the Karuk as a hat, thus putting a foreign artifact to a modified usage for which it was not originally intended. An elk scrotum bag as a container for storing tobacco is also a unique feature.

Tobacco was never chewed, drunk, or mixed with lime. It was rarely eaten. Practically its sole employment was smoking.

Smoking pipes were made of three or more kinds of wood, one of these, the arrowwood, not only having suitable and handsome texture for a pipe, but being provided by nature with a hole of the right size which needs only to have its pith rammed out. The Karuk also had the playful custom of letting a dried salmon beetle larva, the kind which were so plentiful about the houses, do this ramming instead of the Indian, which with the larva, of course, assumes the form of eating. The pith was soaked with grease, as can be readily done in a short time, and the grub was imprisoned in the bowl, which is dug out early in the process of shaping the pipe for the reason that the wood is worked easier when green. Death or tunneling confronts the grub, who is tempted to do the latter, since the only place where he can find a bite of anything soft is at the one point where the pithy tunnel commences. The grub, if victorious, passes the pith through his body and comes out at the "mouth end" of the pipe. The "good" pipes had the bowl lined with a funnel-shaped piece of soapstone, inserted in the tobacco-containing end like an abbreviated stone pipe. This kept the pipe from burning out, and also increased its value and good appearance. The merits of different kinds of soapstone for this purpose were distinguished. The Karuk also had a soapstone pipe, made like the wooden pipes in shape but all of stone. Pottery pipes were not known. Wooden pipes were occasionally decorated with abalone inlay.

The "good" pipe was not complete without its pipe sack. This was made of buckskin and tailored to fit the pipe. It was a carrier both of the smoking tobacco and the pipe. The mouth end of the pipe was so tied that it protruded somewhat from the mouth of the sack, a custom which is explained on the pretense that when exposed in this way it does not get so much the taste of tobacco. The shape of the pipes should also be noticed as regards their tying in the pipe

sack. The pipe is slenderest toward its mouth end, but the mouth end is always larger than the slenderest portion, which has apparently the very practical purpose of keeping the pipe from slipping down inside the pipe sack as it is being carried around. In addition to the ordinary pipe sack made of deerskin, those of elk skin are reported, while the elk-scrotum pipe sack was considered as something "for an Indian to brag on."

The procedure of smoking consisted of taking the pipe out of the sack; of filling it in a certain way, accompanied by a "spoiling" of tobacco to the mountains; of lighting the pipe by several different methods; of variously holding the pipe while smoking; of smacking in; of taking the tobacco into the lungs, which was the culmination of the process and to which everything else was subservient; of taking the pipe out of the mouth; of repeating the act of smoking several times; and finally of putting the pipe back into the pipe sack.

Tobacco smoking entered into the regular daily life of the adult male Indians and the women doctors. Although tobacco was smoked on various occasions during the day, the first regular time for smoking came after eating the evening meal, while the men still tarried in the living house. There was not always smoking at this time, but there very frequently was. The second occasion was when the men went back into the sweathouse after their evening meal at the living house. It was then that smoking was regularly participated in, the pipes being passed around.

The Karuk did not know "the pipe of peace," but they knew the pipe of friendship. When men or doctor women met together on the trail or elsewhere it was the regular custom to offer each other their pipes, each himself smoking first in true Indian style. This smoking was regarded the same as a friendly embrace. But similar mutual smoking was not practiced when family feuds were patched up, although there was a definite ceremony of peacemaking, nor when an agreement was made after a fight with another tribe, which was, within the recollection of the informants, the Smith River Indians.

Tobacco was therefore used as a part of the day's routine and as an embrace of friendship. It was also used as a sedative, as a sleep producer. It was classed by the Karuk in this aspect along with midnight bathing. When a man could not sleep in the sweathouse he smoked and bathed.<sup>5</sup>

Tobacco was also regarded as good, since it gave its smell to the sweathouse.

Again it was recognized as a benumber of pain and used for ear-ache and toothache. It was also used occasionally as a poultice on hurts.

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<sup>5</sup> See pp. 206-207.

Tobacco was also regarded as a poison or help to medicine which was being recited. It was smoked in this connection when one was in trouble, which was conceived of as one's being bedeviled by one's enemies. It was like a weapon and, together with medicine formula, was used by a winged Iksareyav for overcoming even the power of the sun.

Tobacco smoke was blown and leaf tobacco and stem tobacco (usually the latter) were thrown to the Iksareyavs. Karuk ceremony is completely permeated with this puffing and tossing of tobacco, and all pursuits where luck is strived for, such as hunting and gambling, have plenty of it, as do many kinds of curing and other medicine. For instance, at the annual new year ceremony the medicine man carried his pipe wherever he went and both puffed and threw tobacco in connection with his kindling of the daily fires. Even the young unpriestly target shooters paused to sit and pass around the pipe amid their shooting. The use of tobacco by sucking doctors, and of tobacco pipes as the instruments through which to do their sucking, is a subject of vast importance for comparative studies.

Smoking tobacco at a kick dance in the sweathouse, so that the smoke will fill the air and prevent the voices of the singers from getting hoarse through the night, is another purpose attributed to the use of tobacco.

The thoughts of the Karuk were so filled with tobacco that it entered the names of places and individuals, gave rise to the name of a bird and a basket design, figured in songs, and produced a color adjective.

As a result of careful and thorough experience with the material presented in the Karuk section of this paper, we can state that to the Karuk tobacco is merely and uniquely tobacco. The tube in which tobacco is burned is to the Karuk mind an escapement from the boredom of life and the entrance to a world of medicine, ceremony, myth—an entrance reaching out in various ways into the unknown. Tobacco was never smoked for pleasure, but always for some definite purpose, if only that of filling out the daily routine prescribed by the Iksareyavs and followed by the ancestors. It was not medicine, it was not magic, it was not personified. Only its strength was sought; and it was used only in the way to produce the most acute poisoning. Custom and superstition entirely guided its use. There was no question as to whether it was good or bad to smoke tobacco, whether one should or should not smoke, if one were a man or a woman doctor. Practically all men smoked, and smoked at the same times and in exactly the same way. Women doctors smoked only because they were doing a man's job and must do as men did. Women who were not doctors never smoked. Smok-

ing by boys was prohibited, smoking by youths was frowned upon. If prescribed custom made its use a habit, there was never any talk of its being a habit and there was little individual variation.

It is a curious fact that while the whites took over the material tobacco from the Indians, they took with it no fragment of the world that accompanied it, nor were they at first aware that there was such a world, and, again, that after all the generations which have elapsed since its introduction among the whites, it has woven itself scarcely at all into their psychology and mythology. Lady Nicotine is enshrined among the Whites only as a drug, as a taste, as a habit, along with the seeking after mild and tasty forms, while the Karuk make tobacco a heritage from the gods, a strange path which juts into this world and leads to the very ends of magic.

In the way of acknowledgments I can not help but think first of the patient Indians whose memories were ransacked for the study. The late W. E. Safford, of the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture, assisted with many suggestions. To Mr. C. V. Morton, Mr. Paul C. Standley, and Dr. William R. Maxon, of the Division of Plants, United States National Museum, and to Professors W. A. Setchell and W. L. Jepson, of the Department of Botany, University of California, I am indebted for identifications and much valuable information, botanical and otherwise. To Prof. H. E. Bolton, Director of the Bancroft Library, University of California, and to Fr. Zephyrin Engelhardt, of Mission Santa Barbara, I am indebted for information along another line of California research, and for access to Spanish manuscript sources. The halftone illustrations are from photographs by the author. Drawings of the Karuk tobacco plant were prepared by Mrs. Mary Wright Gill and by Mrs. Agnes Chase, of the Bureau of Plant Industry, Department of Agriculture, and Mrs. Gill's rare talent in this line of work made them lifelike, in addition to their correctness; but later on Prof. W. A. Setchell provided me with others more standard because made in connection with his special study of the California tobacco species, and these have been substituted for the drawings of Mrs. Wright and Chase and are here published for the first time. Mrs. George Mullen prepared with the greatest accuracy of detail the series of drawings illustrating the early stages of making a Karuk tobacco basket. I wish also to express my heartfelt appreciation of the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. W. P. Reese, who assisted the work greatly, of Mrs. B. Shellenbarger, of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, of Mr. John T. Linkins; Mrs. Walther Kurze; and, last but not least, of Mr. F. W. Hodge and Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, former chiefs of the bureau, and of Mr. Matthew W. Stirling, present chief, for furthering this study in California aboriginal botany and the teachings around of plant custom.

II. Fá·t pó·xxúrikk'ahitihanik pakuntcuphúruθunatihanik pananuhé·raha'

(BIBLIOGRAPHICAL)

1. Pámítva pakuntcuphúruθunatihat payiθúva kuma'ávansas panuhé·raha 'ó·k 'iθivθané·n'a·tcip

(MENTION OF TOBACCO AMONG THE KARUK)

More lengthy mention of tobacco usage among the neighboring tribes can be cited than among the Karuk themselves. What we actually have directly on the Karuk usage in the form of published and unpublished documents is meager and is here presented.

1852

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts no. 846, stock Quoratean, language Arra-arra or Pehtsik, collector George Gibbs, vocabulary in notebook containing 23 pp., 4" x 6". Notebook has original title: Pehtsik Klamath or Arra-Arra.

"The only evidence of agriculture noticed is in the small patches of tobacco plants around many of their houses" [p. 5].

"leavés of trees . . . shráhn [under the letter L] [for sa'ān, leaf]." "pipe . . . oo-hoo-rahm [under the letter P] [for 'ührâ·m, pipe]." "tobacco . . . e-héh-ra [under the letter T] [for 'ihé·raha', tobacco]."

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts, No. 130, stock Athapascan, Weitspekan, and Quoratean, language Hupa (Alikwa, Arra-arra, etc.), collector George Gibbs, in 1852, place Klamath and Trinity Rivers.

"Pipe [p. 40] . . . oo-hoo-rahm [p. 41] [for 'ührâ·m, pipe]." "Tobacco [p. 48] . . . e-héh-ra [p. 49] [for 'ihé·raha', tobacco]."

UNDATED

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts, No. 209, stock Athapascan, Weitspekan, Quoratean, language Aliquah, Arra Arra and Hopah, collector George Crook, place Klamath River, Calif.

"Pipe [p. 45] . . . ooh-hoo-ráwm [p. 46] [for 'ührâ·m, pipe]." "Tobacco [p. 55] . . . Mo-háre-ráh [p. 56] [for muhé·raha', his tobacco]."

1853

Schoolcraft, Henry R., Historical and Statistical Information, Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, parts I–VI, Philadelphia, 1851–1857, Vocabularies of Indian Languages in Northwest California, by George Gibbs, Esq., in part III, 1853, pp. 428–445, Eh-nek vocabulary, pp. 440–445.

“Pipe . . . Oh rahm [p. 442] [for ‘ührâ·m, pipe].”

“Tobacco . . . Eh hé rah [p. 442] [for ‘ihé·raha’, tobacco].”

1860

Taylor, Alex S., California Notes, The Indianology of California, California Farmer and Journal of Useful Sciences, vols. XIII–XX, San Francisco, Feb. 22, 1860, to Oct. 30, 1863. Karuk vocabulary recorded by G. W. Taggert, vol. 13, no. 6, Mar. 23, 1860.

“Hay-rah, Tobacco [p. 6] [for ‘ihé·raha, tobacco].”

“O-ram, Pipe [p. 6] [for ‘ührâ·m, pipe].”

1877

Powers, Stephen, Tribes of California, in Contributions to North American Ethnology, vol. III, Washington, 1877, pp. 1–635. The Appendix, Linguistics, edited by J. W. Powell, pp. 439–613.

“1.—*Ka'-rok*. Obtained by Mr. Stephen Powers at Scott’s Bar, California, in 1872, from Pa-chi’-ta, a chief. The Smithsonian alphabet is used [p. 447]. Powers’ own vocabulary does not record words for tobacco and pipe, or any word bearing on tobacco.

“2.—*Arra-arrá*. Obtained by Lieut. George Crook on the Klamath River, California, and is No. 398, Smithsonian Collections. It was transliterated by Mr. George Gibbs, in No. 358, and the Smithsonian alphabet used. The latter number is here given [p. 447].”

“¶53.—Tobacco . . . [2. *Arra-arrá*] mo-her-ra [p. 450] [for muhé·raha’, his tobacco].” “¶[53. Tobacco (native) . . . [2. *Arra-arrá*] e-hé-ra [p. 459] [for ‘ihé·raha’, tobacco].” “¶55. Pipe . . . [2. *Arra-arrá*] u-hu-rám [p. 450] [for ‘ührâ·m, pipe].”

“3.—*Arra-arrá*. Obtained by Mr. George Gibbs. It is Nos. 359, 401, and 403, Smithsonian Collections. No. 401 has been used here, as it was written in the Smithsonian alphabet [p. 447].” “¶[53. Tobacco] [3. *Arra-arrá*] i-he’-ra [p. 451] [for ‘ihé·raha’, tobacco].” “¶[52. Pipe] [3. *Arra-arrá*] u-hu-rám [p. 451] [for ‘ührâ·m, pipe.]”

“4.—*Peh'-tsik*. Obtained by Lieut. Edw. Ross, who says it is the language of the Upper Klamath, from the Indians of Red Cap’s Bar. His spelling has not been changed. It is No. 318, Smithsonian Collections [p. 447].” “¶[53. Tobacco] [4. *Peh'-tsik*] heh-rah [p. 451] [for ‘ihé·raha, tobacco].” “¶[55. Pipe] [4. *Peh'-tsik*] ag-hu-rahm’ [p. 451] [for ‘ührâ·m, pipe].”

"5.—*Eh-nek*. Obtained by George Gibbs, and published in Schoolcraft, Part III, page 440, from which it has been taken; the orthography is not changed. On page 422 of that volume, Mr. Gibbs says that "Ehnek is the name of a band at the mouth of the Salmon or Quoratem River" [p. 447]. "¶[53. Tobacco] [5. Eh-nek] eh-he'-rah [p. 451] [for 'ihé-raha', tobacco.]" "¶[55. Pipe] [5. Eh-nek] oh-rahm [p. 451] [for 'ührâ'm, pipe.]"

1878

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts No. 845, stock Quoratean, collector A. S. Gatschet (obtained from Joseph A. Thompson), place San Francisco, Calif., date Jan. 1878, remarks vocabulary, 6 pp. 10"×14". (Also a copy.) [Does not contain any words bearing on tobacco. It is interesting in that it was obtained from a white man who had lived with the Indians.]

1889

Bureau of American Ethnology Catalog of Manuscripts No. 847, stock Quoratean, language Ehnek, collector Jeremiah Curtin, place Klamath River, Calif., date June—July 1889, remarks: Powell Introd., 50 pp., partly filled. Title page: Ehnik Tribe [crossed out]. Ehnikan Family [crossed out]. Quoratean family. [The preceding not in Curtin's hand]. Tribe, Ehnikan (ärär). Locality: Klamath River from Bluff Creek, Humboldt Co., Cal., to Happy Camp, Siskiyou Co., Cal. Recorded by Jeremiah Curtin. Date of Record: June and July 1889. Closely related to Gatschet's Ara, which see. No. 845. Hewitt. [The last 10 words in J. N. B. Hewitt's hand.]

"35. Pipe, of stone . . . ä'súhuram [p. 89] [for 'asó·ra'ám, stone pipe]." [This is the only word recorded bearing on tobacco.]

1906–1907

Denny, Melceena Burns, Orleans Indian Legends, Outwest, vol. 25, pp. 37–40 (July 1906), 161–166 (Aug. 1906), 268–271 (Sept. 1906), vol. 25, 373–375 (Oct. 1906), 451–454 (Nov. 1906), vol. 26, pp. 73–80 (Jan. 1907), 168–170 (Feb. 1907), 267–268 (Mar. 1907). [This series of articles does not record anything bearing on tobacco.]

1907

Merriam, C. Hart, Names for Tobacco in 56 California Dialects, 1907, Bureau of American Ethnology MS. No. 1563. [Does not contain Karuk words.]

1911

Kroeber, A. L., The Languages of the Coast of California North of San Francisco, University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, vol. 9, no. 3, pp. 273–435, Apr. 1911,

section on the Karuk language [contains no words bearing on tobacco].

1921

Dixon, Roland B., Words for Tobacco in American Indian Languages, American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 23, no. 1, Jan.-Mar. 1921, pp. 19-49.

"Thus we have Karok -hera [p. 30]." [Given as the Karuk word for tobacco; for the last three syllables of 'ihé·raha', tobacco.]

1923

Olden, Sarah Emilia, Karoc Indian Stories, San Francisco. 1923.

"Pipe . . . Ooharalun [p. 190] [for 'ührâ·m, pipe']."

1925

Kroeber, A. L., Handbook of the Indians of California, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78, Washington, 1925, chap. 5, The Karok, pp. 98-108. [The section on the Karuk does not contain anything bearing on Karuk tobacco.]

2. Pámítva pakuntcuphúruθunatihat payiθúva kuma'ávansas payiθ  
kuma'árā·ras mukun̄ihé·raha'

(MENTION OF TOBACCO AMONG NEIGHBORING TRIBES)

Under the foregoing heading all the material available recorded by others bearing directly on Karuk tobacco has been assembled. Mention of tobacco among certain neighboring Indian tribes is here added for the sake of comparison. Most of these quotations are from well-known sources and no attempt at completeness or incorporation of linguistic material has been made, this being reserved for special treatment of the tribes in question later on. The quotation from Fletcher has been included here merely because it is the first mention of the species of tobacco used by the Karuk, the tobacco of Monterey Indians mentioned by Father Lasuen in his letter to Galves, 17—, discovered by the writer in the Bancroft Library, probably referring to *Nicotiana bigelovii* var. *typica*.

1628

It is interesting that the account of Sir Francis Drake's visit among the Indians of presumably Drake's Bay, California, June 17 to July 23, 1579, makes mention not only of their tobacco, but of both baskets and bags of it, and especially so in connection with the present paper, since the tobacco used by those Indians was the same species as that used by the Karuk, *Nicotiana bigelovii* var. *exaltata*, which

extended down the coast as far as San Francisco Bay and was the only species.<sup>1</sup>

"The next day, after our comming to anchor in the aforesaid harbour, the people of the countrey shewed themselues, sending off a man with great expedition to vs in a canow. Who being yet but a little from the shoare, and a great way from our ship, spake to vs continually as he came rowing on. And at last at a reasonable distance staying himselfe, he began more solemnely a long and tedious oration, after his manner: vsing in the deliuerie thereof many gestures and signes, mouing his hands, turning his head and body many wayes; and after his oration ended, with great shew of reuerence and submission returned backe to shoare againe. He shortly came againe the second time in like manner, and so the third time, when he brought with him (as a present from the rest) a bunch of feathers, much like the feathers of a blacke crow, very neatly and artificially gathered vpon a string, and drawne together into a round bundle; being verie cleane and finely cut, and bearing in length an equall proportion one with another; a speciaill cognizance (as wee afterwards obserued) which they that guard their kings person weare on their heads. With this also he brought a little basket made of rushes, and filled with an herbe which they called *Tabáh*. Both which being tyed to a short rodde, he came into our boate. Our Generall intended to haue recom-penced him immedately with many good things he would haue bestowed on him; but entring into the boate to deliuere the same, he could not be drawne to receiue them by any meanes, saue one hat, which being cast into the water out of the ship, he tooke vp (refusing vtterly to meddle with any other thing, though it were vpon a board put off vnto him) and so presently made his retурne. After which time our boate could row no way, but wondring at vs as at gods, they would follow the same with admiration . . . .<sup>1a</sup>

"Against the end of two daies (during which time they had not againe beene with vs), there was gathered together a great assembly of men, women, and children (inuited by the report of them which first saw vs, who, as it seems, had in that time of purpose dispersed themselues into the country, to make knowne the newes), who came now the second time vnto vs, bringing with them, as before had beene done, feathers and bagges of *Tobáh* for presents, or rather indeed for sacrifices, vpon this perswasion that we were gods."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *N. glauca*, introduced from South America (see pp. 35-36), now also grows wild in this region. This makes two wild tobacco species, e. g., in Mendocino County, and both are used by the Pomo and neighboring Indians; formerly there was only the one species.

<sup>1a</sup> Fletcher, Francis, *The World Encompassed* by Sir Francis Drake, London, 1628, edition of 1854, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 122.

1781

Fletcher, telling of Drake's visit to a tribe considerably down the coast from the Karuk region and having quite a different culture, is the first to mention the tobacco species, *Nicotiana bigelovii* var. *exaltata*, also tobacco baskets and tobacco bags. Francisco Antonio Maurello, in his journal of the voyage of Juan Francisco de la Bodega, 1775, telling of Bodega's visit to the Yuruk Indians of Trinidad, who had merely a seacoast variety of the Karuk culture, is the first to mention and describe the pipes used for smoking this species, and the gardens of it.

"They used tobacco, which they smoaked in small wooden pipes, in form of a trumpet, and procured from little gardens where they had planted it\*" \*\*"It need scarcely be observed that tobacco is an indigenous plant in North America, as it is also in Asia."<sup>3</sup>

1825

The following diary note on Indian tobacco in what is now Oregon was written by a Scotch botanist, David Douglas, when traveling in behalf of the Royal Horticultural Society, of London, England, at Fort Vancouver, on the Columbia River, under date of Aug. 19, 1825. The specimen of *Nicotiana multivalvis* Lindl. described by him is one of several plant specimens collected on a trip made by canoe from Fort Vancouver down the Columbia River to the mouth of the Willamette (Douglas's "Multnomah") River and up that river to a point either 56 miles up that river or 56 miles from Fort Vancouver, and return, between the dates of August 19 and 30, inclusive, 1825. Miss Nellie B. Pipes of the Oregon Historical Society and Dr. John R. Swanton of the Bureau of American Ethnology have assisted me at several points in tracing the route of Douglas.

The Willamette River has a northern and a southern mouth with Sauvie Island between them. The present town of Vancouver is situated on the north bank of the Columbia River about 90 miles from its mouth and between 5 and 6 miles upstream from the southern mouth of the Willamette River. Old Fort Vancouver, the starting point of the trip on which Douglas collected his tobacco specimen, was situated on the site of the present Vancouver Barracks, the United States military post, which adjoins the town of Vancouver on the east or upriver side. Fort Vancouver was founded by the Hudson Bay Company in 1824 and was their principal establishment until 1846. After that date it was occupied by the company's clerk and a few men until its final abandonment in 1860.

<sup>3</sup> Barrington, Daines, *Miscellanies, Journal of a Spanish Voyage in 1775, to explore the Western Coast of N. America*, London, 1781. p. 489 and fn.

Miss Pipes has been good enough to look up and trace for me the early applications of the name Multnomah as follows: Captain Clark, of the Lewis and Clark expedition, explored about 6 miles of the Willamette River but designates the whole river by the name of Multnomah, stating that it was so called from a tribe of Indians of that name living on its banks. Samuel Parker, a missionary who was there in 1835, applies the name only to the section which flows down the southern side of Wapato [Sauvie's] Island, a distance of about 6 miles. Dr. Forbes Barclay, a physician of the Hudson's Bay Co. who came to Fort Vancouver in 1837, said it was the Multnomah from the mouth to the Clackamas Rapids (about 25 miles). However, the name Multnomah is now forgotten and the whole river from its source to its mouth is named the Willamette.



FIGURE 2.—Map showing places visited by Douglas

The falls mentioned by Douglas are Willamette Falls, and are situated in the Willamette River opposite the south end of the town of Oregon City, which stands on the east bank of the Willamette. Willamette Falls are 28 or 30 miles upstream from the southern mouth of the Willamette River.

It is impossible to tell from Douglas's account to what tribe the tobacco garden from which he obtained his specimen belonged. The Némalnōmax (Multnomah), of Chinookan stock, had villages along the lowermost course of the Willamette, notably at Sauvie's

Island, formerly mentioned as Wapato Island and as Multnomah Island. The language around Oregon City and farther up the Willamette was Kalapuyan. The tribe was doubtless either Chinookan or Kalapuyan. (Fig. 2.)

"(447) *Nicotiana pulverulenta* <sup>4(?)</sup> of Pursh, correctly supposed by Nuttall to exist on the Columbia; whether its original habitat is here

<sup>4</sup> "This must be a slip of Douglas's, as the only specific name in *Nicotiana* for which Pursh is the authority is *quadrivalvis*, Pursh, Fl. Am. Sept. i, p. 141." This footnote and the question mark in parenthesis following the reference to it are added by W. Wilks and H. R. Hutchinson, who edited Douglas's journal. The editors did not know that the locality alone is sufficient for determining that the specimen which Douglas obtained was not *N. quadrivalvis* Pursh but *N. multivalvis* Lindl.; Douglas was the discoverer of *N. multivalvis* Lindl. See my quotation from Setchell.

in the Rocky Mountains, or on the Missouri, I am unable to say, but am inclined to think it must be in the mountains. I am informed by the hunters it is more abundant towards them and particularly so amongst the Snake Indians, who frequently visit the Indians inhabiting the head-waters of the Missouri by whom it might be carried in both directions. I have seen only one plant before, in the hand of an Indian two months since at the Great Falls of the Columbia,<sup>5</sup> and although I offered him 2 ounces of manufactured tobacco he would on no consideration part with it. The natives cultivate it here, and although I made diligent search for it, it never came under my notice until now. They do not cultivate it near their camps or lodges, lest it should be taken for use before maturity. An open place in the wood is chosen where there is dead wood, which they burn, and sow the seed in the ashes. Fortunately I met with one of the little plantations and supplied myself with seeds and specimens without delay. On my way home I met the owner, who, seeing it under my arm, appeared to be much displeased; but by presenting him with two finger-lengths of tobacco from Europe his wrath was appeased, and we became good friends. He then gave me the above description of cultivating it. He told me that wood ashes made it grow very large. I was much pleased with the idea of using wood ashes. Thus we see that even the savages on the Columbia know the good effects produced on vegetation by the use of carbon.<sup>6</sup> His knowledge of plants and their uses gained him another finger-length. When we smoked we were all in all. S."<sup>7</sup>

1877

Powers tells of the eagerness of the Yuruk in asking for American smoking tobacco:

"Sometimes, when wandering on the great, ferny, wind-swept hills of the coast, keeping a sharp weather-eye out for the trail, I have seen a half dozen tatterdemalion Yurok, engaged in picking *salal*-berries, when they saw me, quit their employment with their fingers and lips stained gory-red by the juice, and come rushing down through the bushes with their two club-queues bouncing on their shoulders and laughing with a wild lunatic laugh that made my hair

<sup>5</sup> Celilo Falls, 14 miles east or upstream of The Dalles and about 105 miles up the Columbia from the site of Fort Vancouver. The Oregon Historical Quarterly for June, 1915, has a number of articles on Celilo and Celilo Canal.

<sup>6</sup> Potash, rather.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas, David, Journal kept by David Douglas during his travels in North America 1823-1827, published under the direction of the Royal Horticultural Society, London, 1914, p. 141.

stand on end. But they were never on 'butcher deeds' intent, and never made any forey on me more terrible than the insinuating question, 'Got any tobac?'"<sup>8</sup>

Wedged in between Yokots information, Powers also gives one sentence of information furnished to him by A. W. Chase to the effect that "the Klamaths" raise tobacco and no other plant. That by "the Klamaths" the Indians of the lower Klamath River is here to be understood is indicated by the frontispiece of Powers's book, which is a sketch of a lower Klamath River livinghouse and sweathouse, the exact locality of which has not yet been identified by me, but is surely in the Karuk-Yuruk area. The next sentence, following the dash, is evidently Powers's own observation. The sentence following that, speaking of having seen tobacco growing on earth-covered lodges, may be a reminiscence of what Powers had seen when on the Klamath, which he had visited before visiting the Yokots, in which case the lodges referred to would be sweathouses, and the growing of tobacco on Karuk sweathouses has been mentioned by several informants and is described on page 78. The last sentence quoted refers again to the Yokots. I give the information from Chase in its setting, so that the reader can interpret for himself:

"Around old camps and corrals there is found a wild tobacco (*pan*), which Prof. Asa Gray pronounces *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* and Professor Bolander *N. plumbaginifolia*. It is smoked alone or mixed with dried manzanita leaves (*Arctostyphlos glauca*), and has pungent, peppery taste in the pipe which is not disagreeable. Mr. A. W. Chase, in a letter to the author, states the Klamaths cultivate it—the only instance of aboriginal cultivation known in California. I think the Indians never cultivated it more than this, that they scattered the seeds about camp and then took care not to injure the growing plants. I have even seen them growing finely on their earth-covered lodges. The pipe, *pan'-em-ku-lah*, is generally made of serpentine (or of wood nowadays), shaped like a cigar-holder, from four to six inches long, round, and with a bowl nearly an inch in diameter."<sup>9</sup>

Powers's Fig. 43, opp. p. 426, accompanying his chapter on "Aboriginal Botany," is reproduced as Pl. 29 of this paper, and shows northern California pipes and pipe sack; for the identification of these with Nat. Mus. catalog numbers, provenance of specimens, and for identification with illustrations run by Mason and again by McGuire see explanation of Pl. 29.

<sup>8</sup> Powers, Stephen, Tribes of California, in Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. III, Washington, 1877, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., section on aboriginal botany, p. 426.

1886

In his report on the Ray collection made by Lieut. P. H. Ray at Fort Gaston on the Hupa Indian Reservation in 1885, Mason mentions tobacco as follows:

“PIPES AND SMOKING

“The Indians of northern California smoked formerly a wild tobacco, *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* (Gray), *N. plumbaginifoloe* (Bolander). It was smoked alone or mixed with dry manzanita leaves (*Arctostaphylos glauca*). Mr. Powers says that it has a pungent, peppery taste in the pipe, which is not disagreeable.

“The pipes are conoidal in shape, and are either of wood alone, stone alone, or latterly of stone and wood combined, as will appear further on. (Plates VIII-IX, Figs. 61-73.) The beginning of such a pipe would be a hollow reed, or pithy stem, with the tobacco deposited in one end. A plain cone of wood fitted for smoking starts the artificial series. (Fig. 61.) Rude pipes are cut out of one piece of laurel or manzanita and shaped like a fisherman’s wood maul or one of the single-handed warclubs of the Pueblo Indians. (Fig. 62.) The length of stem is about 11 inches; length of bowl, 2½ inches; diameter of bowl, 2 inches; of stem,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of an inch. The bowl is a cup-shaped cavity, very shallow. The whole specimen is very rude, looking as though it has been chipped out with a hatchet or heavy fish-knife.

“The next grade of pipes are of hard wood resembling the last described in type, but very neatly finished. The stem is about 14 inches long and  $\frac{1}{16}$ ths of an inch thick. The head is spherical, 1½ inches in diameter. The bowl is cup-shaped and the cavity nearly 1 inch in diameter. (Fig. 64.)

“A small pipe of soapstone is also used, in which the straight pipe is presented in its simplest form. (Fig. 65.) Length, 2½ inches.

“There are also pipes of fine-grained sandstone of graceful outline, resembling in shape a ball bat, 7 inches long, 7½ inches wide in the thickest part. A very noteworthy thing about this pipe is the extreme thinness of the walls. (Fig. 63.) At the mouth part, where it is thickest, the stone does not exceed one-eighth of an inch, while through the upper portion it is less than one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness. The cavity does not present the series of rings which appear in stone that has been bored out, but innumerable longitudinal scratches fill the inner surface.

“The only solution of this appearance is that the interior was excavated by the use of a file or other hard tool. By the great size of its interior, this pipe is connected with the tubular objects from the mounds called telescopes by some, sucking tubes by others, and

pipes by others. (See Dr. Abbott's paper in Wheeler's Survey West of One Hundredth Meridian, Vol. VII, pl. VII and text.)

"The stone pipes were taken from old graves, and this kind are now no longer in use.

"We have, again, a little pipe no larger than some cigarette holders. (Fig. 66.) Except in its diminutive size and simplicity, it might have served as a model for the three to be next described or for the type specimen mentioned at the head of this list. Length, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches; greatest width, three-fourths of an inch; depth of bowl,  $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch. (See Powers, Fig. 43.)

"They likewise use a tapering pipe of hard wood, 12 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide at the larger end. What may be called the stem is 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches long. The other portion is carved by a series of octagons and chamfers which give to the specimen quite an ornamental appearance. (Fig. 69.) The bowl is  $\frac{7}{8}$ ths of an inch wide and 2 inches deep. This example has been smoked a great deal, being charred very much in the bowl. (Collected by Livingston Stone. Compare Figs. 2 and 5, Plate IX, Dr. Abbott's paper in Wheeler's Survey West of One Hundredth Meridian, Vol. VII.)

"Other beautifully finished pipes of the same type, evidently turned in a lathe to please the Hupa fancy, are kept with the greatest care in leather pouches made for the purpose. (Figs. 71, 73.) They are made of different woods highly polished. The remarkable feature is the bowl of serpentine set in a tapering shouldered socket at the wide end of the stem, and the whole turned and polished. The bowl is a conical cavity in serpentine.

"The next example consists of a pipe and case. The pipe has a stem shaped like a club or ball bat, and a bowl of compact steatite. In general features pipes of this class resemble the cigarette holder, and they are found among the Utes and Mohaves, as well as in the mounds.

"When it is remembered that many Indians recline while smoking, it will be seen that this is the only sensible form of the pipe for them.

"Their tobacco pouches of basket-work are ovoid in form and hold about 1 quart. (Plate VIII, Fig. 67.) They are made of twined weaving in bands of brown and checkered grass, so common in the basketry of the Klamaths as to be typical. Six buckskin loops are attached to the rim of this basket in such a manner that their apexes meet in the center of the opening. A long string is fastened to the apex of one loop and passed through all the others serially to close the mouth of the pouch. Heights, 6 inches; width of mouth, 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches."<sup>9a</sup>

<sup>9a</sup> Mason, Otis T., The Ray Collection from Hupa Reservation, Smithsonian Report for 1886, pt. 1, Washington, D. C., 1889, pp. 205-239, quotation from pp. 219-220. Plates 15 and 16 illustrate pipes, pipesack and tobacco basket.

Mason's plates 15 and 16 illustrate some of the same specimens figured by Powers (see explanation of Pl. 29 for identifications). The specimens not shown by Powers are identified as follows:

Mason, Pl. 15, Nos. 63 and 65 are all-stone pipes from southern California.

Mason, Pl. 15, No. 67 = Nat. Mus. No. 126520, Hupa, collected by Lt. P. H. Ray. = McGuire, Fig. 31.

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 68 = Nat. Mus. No. 76198, "Shasta," collected by Green. = McGuire, Fig. 32. (Mistitled by McGuire "wood and stone pipe.")

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 70 = Nat. Mus. No. 77182, Hupa, Calif., collected by Lt. P. H. Ray. = McGuire, Fig. 34.

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 71. = Nat. Mus. No. 77179, "Natano [=Hupa] Band, Hasha [sic] Valley, Calif.," collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray. = McGuire, Fig. 35.

Mason, Pl. 16, No. 73. = McGuire, Fig. 37. This pipesack cannot be found in the Nat. Mus. collections.

1899

McGuire, in his interesting compilation on Indian tobacco and smoking, which lacks only the results of field work which would have made it many times more valuable, gives only the following on northern California smoking, which is only a paraphrasing and messing up of Mason's wording made more vicious by the fact that McGuire thinks he is talking about Hupa specimens when he is really talking about specimens from all over northern California.

"The Indians of northern California, according to Prof. Otis T. Mason, formerly smoked a wild tobacco, *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* (Pursh) *N. plumbaginifolia*, which they smoked alone or mixed with the dry manzanita leaves, *Arctostaphylos glauca*, said to have a pungent, peppery taste which is not disagreeable. The pipes of the Hupa are, as Professor Mason says, conoidal in shape, and are of wood alone, stone alone, or latterly of stone and wood combined. . . .<sup>10</sup> <sup>11</sup>

"Fig. 25<sup>11a</sup> is simply a cone cut apparently from manzanita wood. It is 13 inches long with a greatest diameter of 2 inches, tapering gradually to 1½ inches at the smaller end. If this pipe were sawed in two one-third of the way from the smaller end it could not be dis-

<sup>10</sup> "The Ray Collection from Hupa Reservation, Smithsonian Report, 1886, pt. 1, p. 219."

<sup>11</sup> McGuire, Joseph D., Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Aborigines, based on Material in the U. S. National Museum, Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1897, pp. 351-645, with 5 plates. Washington, 1899, p. 391.

<sup>11a</sup> From McCloud River, Calif.

tinguished in form from the elongated conical stone pipes usually found in graves and burial places of the islands along the California coast. This pipe appears to have been perforated by burning. The walls vary from one-sixteenth of an inch in thickness at the smaller end to nearly one-half an inch at the larger. The outer sides appear to have been smoothed by means of sandpaper, though the same appearance could be imparted to the specimen with any gritty sandstone or with sand alone. These pipes are made from any available wood, those which best resist fire being preferred, one of the best and most usual being the laurel.

"Fig. 26 is an all-wood pipe of Hupa <sup>11b</sup> manufacture, 13½ inches long, that is of peculiar form. The bowl is 2½ inches in greatest diameter, that of the stem being scarcely three-fourths of an inch thick. The bowl cavity consists of quite a shallow cup, the specimen having been rudely chopped out by means of an extremely dull tool, which gives one the impression that it would be a difficult pipe to smoke unless the smoker laid flat on his back.

"Fig. 27 <sup>11c</sup> belongs to the same type of all-wood Hupa pipes, and is more carefully finished than the last specimen, its surface being brought almost to a polish. It is 15 inches long, though the bowl is less than 1 inch in depth, with a diameter of 1¼ inches. Had the preceding specimen been ground to a uniform surface, as these pipes usually are, they would have had bowls alike, though among the Hupa, to a greater degree than has been detected among other natives, pipes have been made of a greater variety in shape than has been observed to be the case with almost any other type with which we are acquainted. They appear to be comparatively modern, and it is strongly to be suspected that the multiform shape of the Hupa pipe has been largely influenced by the outside demand for specimens as curiosities. There is in no implement found in America a greater observance of conventionalism of form than is the case among the pipes, and in those localities where the greatest variety exists investigation demonstrates that the smoking habit itself has been adopted within the last century. These varieties are most marked along the Pacific coast among the Hupa and Babeens.

"Fig. 28 is a fine-grained tubular sandstone, showing unusual mechanical skill in its manufacture, being 7 inches long, with a diameter at the larger end of three-fourths of an inch; the walls of the tube do not exceed one-sixteenth of an inch at the mouth of the bowl, increasing gradually to one-eighth inch at the smaller end. The outer surface is ground to a dull polish, and the interior shows striae running the length of the implement, made apparently by means of a file or similar tool.

<sup>11b</sup> Really from Feather River, Calif.

<sup>11c</sup> Really from Potter Valley, Calif.

"Fig. 29 differs in no material respect from the simplest form of conical tubes found throughout the continent, except in the slightly raised rim around the smaller end. It is made of steatite, and has a length of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. This rim is similar to one on the bowl of the unfinished pipe from Cook County, Tennessee (fig. 19), and would indicate that it was intended simply for ornament and not for the attachment of a string.

"Fig. 30 is of wood, being the pipe used by the Hupas at the present time, and is 3 inches long, with a greatest diameter of three-fourths of an inch, the bowl being about seven-eighths of an inch deep from which there runs a narrow stem hole to the smaller end.

"Fig. 31 shows the shape of the tobacco bag of these people, and is made from strips of the roots of the spruce, split into strings and woven together; six buckskin loops are attached to its rim in such a manner that their apices meet in the center of the opening. A long string is attached to one loop and is serially passed through all the others, by means of which the bag may be opened and closed at will by drawing the loops apart or by drawing the string. This bag would be found to differ little, except in material, throughout the continent. Some would make it of skin, while others would weave it from suitable fibers, and others again would probably fashion it from birch bark.

"Fig. 32 is a wooden pipe, 11 inches long, the bowl of which is made in the hourglass form, similar in outline to certain tubes found in the Middle Atlantic States. The bowl has been cut with a dull tool, but upon the stem are a number of crossed lines, intended to add to its ornamental appearance. Fig. 33 is made of hard wood, the bowl of which is carved in a series of octagons, chamfers, and holes, which give to this specimen quite an ornamental effect. The tube is  $12\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, the bowl being seven-eighths of an inch in its greatest exterior diameter, and has a cavity 2 inches deep. Figs. 34 to 37, inclusive, show the most modern form of the Hupa pipe, which is made from different kinds of wood and serpentine. These pipes are most carefully polished, and are evidently made with modern tools. The remarkable feature of these pipes is shown in the serpentine bowl. Fig. 35 is set in a tapering wood socket, held in place by some kind of glue, the whole surface being subsequently ground and polished. Fig. 37 shows the pipe in its original skin case, with its strap for suspension. The American Indian pipes have always been most carefully guarded by their owners, in cases or coverings of skin, basketry work, bark, or woven rags.<sup>12</sup>"

<sup>12</sup> Otis T. Mason, The Ray Collection from Hupa Reservation Smithsonian Report, 1886, Plates XV, XVI, pp. 219-220.

The northwestern California pipe has been referred to by Mr. Henry R. Schoolcraft, quoting Col. Roderick McKee, as "a straight stick, the bowl being a continuation of the stem enlarged into a knob and held perpendicularly when smoking."<sup>13</sup>"<sup>14</sup>

In another place in his report McGuire states:

"The great variety observable in the tubular pipes of wood from the Hupa Reservation suggests their being modern, and intended rather to supply tourists' demands than to comply with tribal conventionalisms."<sup>15</sup>

McGuire's figures 25 to 37, inclusive, showing northern California pipes, pipesack, and tobacco basket, are merely Mason's cuts run over again; McGuire in his carelessness has been misled by the general title of Mason's paper to assume that all the cuts borrowed from Mason's paper show specimens collected by Ray at the Hupa Reservation and he adds this statement to every title; McGuire's Figs. 25, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 33 are neither from Hupa Reservation nor collected by Ray, and Fig. 36 is from Hupa Reservation but collected by Powers.

1903

Hupa tobacco is described by Goddard:

#### "PIPE MAKING AND TOBACCO RAISING

"Smoking has been practiced by the Hupa from time immemorial. Their gods smoked. It is in fact a semi-religious practice. The pipe, *kiñaigyan*, was and is still made of selected wood of the manzanita or yew. The ordinary pipe (Pl. 17, Figs. 2 and 3) is about four and one-half inches long, and cylindrical in shape. The diameter at the smallest part is about three-eighths of an inch. A gentle curve gives the mouth end a diameter of five-eighths of an inch and the bowl end an inch. The pipes are worked down with sandstone and polished off with stems of the horsetail rush, *Equisetum robustum*, in so fine a manner that even Professor Mason was deceived, thinking them turned by white men in a lathe."<sup>16</sup>

"Usually the pipe is faced with serpentine or sandstone. The face of stone (Pl. 17, Fig. 5) shows only about one-half an inch

<sup>13</sup> North American Indian Tribes, Pt. 3, pp. 107, 141, Philadelphia, 1847.

<sup>14</sup> McGuire, Joseph D., Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Aborigines, based on Material in the U. S. National Museum, Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1897, pp. 351-645, with 5 plates, Washington, 1899, pp. 391-395.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., p. 627.

<sup>16</sup> "Smithsonian Report, 1886, Part I, p. 220."

on the outside, but it enters the funnel-shaped wooden part so as to line the bowl of the pipe. The bowl is three-fourths of an inch deep. A shoulder is made on the wood of the bowl; then the soap-stone is brought into shape with a knife. The pieces are constantly tried to insure a good fit. To make the joint perfect between the wood and the stone, a little sand is put in, and the stone is twisted to wear away any projections. The shaman's pipe (Pl. 17, Fig. 6) is similar but much longer, some of them measuring 12 inches. Often narrow stripes of mother-of-pearl are neatly inlaid, lengthwise the pipe next to the stone facing. Pipes entirely of wood are also used. These are of the smaller size and are ornamented at the bowl end with carvings. The Hupa occasionally make pipes all of stone. (Pl. 17, Fig. 4.) Such pipes are frequently to be seen in use on the Klamath river. The pipe is carried in a little sack of buckskin (Pl. 17, Fig. 1) tied with a string of the same material. Tobacco is put into the bag and then the pipe is pushed in bowl first, not stem first, as Professor Mason has pictured it.<sup>17</sup>

"The tobacco used was cultivated, the only instance of agriculture among the Hupa. Logs were burned and the seed sown in the ashes. The plant appears to be and probably is identical with the wild *Nicotiana bigelovii*, but the Hupa say the cultivated form is better. The wild form found along the river they say is poison. It is believed that an enemy's death may be caused by giving him tobacco from plants growing on a grave."<sup>18</sup>

Goddard's Plate 17 shows Hupa pipes, a pipesack, a pipe bowl, and firesticks in excellent reproduction.

1905

Dixon's Northern Maidu information on tobacco is the following:

"Stone pipes (Fig. 9, a, b) would seem to have been at all times objects of value, and to have been on the whole, somewhat scarce, a wooden pipe being far more common. All pipes were of the tubular form. In general, the stone pipes were short, ranging from ten to fifteen centimetres in length, and usually made from steatite. The pipe used by the pehei'pe, or clown, was larger, as a rule, and always made of soapstone. It has, moreover, a rim or ring about the mouth-end (see Fig. 66). The pipes were drilled by means of a piece of deer-antler, which was pounded with another stone, till, after a long time, the cavity was made. Sometimes sand was added, which accelerated the work. It is claimed that there was no twirling of the deer

<sup>17</sup> "Smithsonian Report, 1886, Part I, Pl. XVI."

<sup>18</sup> Goddard, Pliny Earle, Life and Culture of the Hupa. University of California Publications, American Archeology and Ethnology, Berkeley, California, 1903, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 36-37.

antler, or other method of drilling. The details of the manufacture seem to have been to a considerable extent lost. It is also claimed that occasionally a pipe was found, just as were mortars. The pipes which were found were regarded as of mysterious origin, and were to be handled with great care. To drop a stone pipe of any sort, but in particular of this type, was very unfortunate, and bad luck or illness was sure to follow. As in the case of the mortars, the Shasta held the pipes as capable of independent motion, but this belief was not held by the Maidu." [With picture of 2 stone pipes.]<sup>19</sup>

"The clown then goes to the base of the main post, where his pipe is always placed. He fills it, if possible, from the shaman's supply of tobacco, and then smokes, puffing out as much smoke as possible. Between the puffs he calls out, 'I like acorn bread! I like deer-meat! I like fish! I like soup! Be good to me, be good to me, my old woman!'" [With picture of a steatite pipe.]<sup>20</sup>

### 1907

In his interesting brief paper on the culture of the Takelma Indians of southwestern Oregon, who bordered the Karuk on the north with only one intervening tribe, and are claimed by my informants to have had customs much like the Shasta, Sapir states the following about their tobacco.

The Takelma occupied the same position on the Rogue River as the Karuk did on the Klamath, holding neither the mouth nor the headwaters. Although not identified by Sapir, the Takelma tobacco was the same as that of their Shasta neighbors, *Nicotiana bigelovii*.

"The only plant cultivated before the coming of the whites was tobacco (ō'p') which was planted by the men on land from which the brush had been burnt away. Smoking was indulged in to a considerable extent and had a semi-religious character, the whiff smoke being in a way symbolic of good fortune and long life. The pipes were made of either wood or stone and were always straight throughout, some reaching a length of nearly a foot. The custom prevailed, of course, of passing one pipe around to all the members of an assembled group."<sup>21</sup>

Dixon, in his paper on the Shasta, tells of finding a stone pipe in the region and describes the construction and making of arrowwood

<sup>19</sup> Dixon, The Northern Maidu, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 17, pt. 3, pp. 119-346. New York, May, 1905, pp. 138-139.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 317.

<sup>21</sup> Sapir, Edward, Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon, American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 9, no. 2, April-June, 1907, p. 259.

pipes, being the first to report on the boring of arrowwood pipes by means of beetle larvae. He also describes the use of pipes by doctors.

"Pipe-tips were either of serpentine, or other fine-grained stone. They were ground laboriously into shape, the hole being pierced by pounding with a piece of antler, aided by sand. What is apparently a portion of a pipe wholly of stone was picked up on the surface near Honolulu, on the Klamath River. (Fig. 69.) It is, however, different from the type of pipe used by the Shasta, and was regarded by them as mysterious, and probably endowed with great magic power. It is nicely finished on the exterior." [With illustration of a fragment of a stone pipe.]<sup>22</sup>

"Except for their bows, the Shasta used wood for but few implements, the most important of which were spoons, pipes, and mush paddles. Spoons (Fig. 71) were made of both wood and horn. In type they are closely similar to those used by the Karok, Yurok, and Hupa, although, as a rule, they were less decorated by carving. The pipes (Fig. 72) used here were of the same character as those made by the three tribes just mentioned living lower down the river. The form was the usual tubular, trumpet-shaped one, varying from fifteen to twenty centimetres in length. The pipes are often so regularly and beautifully made as to suggest machine-turning. The method of boring the piece of wood from which the pipe was to be made was exceedingly ingenious, if we may believe the account given by several informants independently. As described, the method was applicable to only one variety of wood (unidentified), a variety which was quite hard, yet possessed a small, somewhat porous pith or heart-wood. A number of sticks of this wood were, so it is said, placed on end in a dish of salmon oil, first on one end, and then on the other. By this means, the pithy, porous heart-wood absorbed considerable oil, much more than did the remainder of the wood. This central core of heart-wood was then dug out at one end, as deeply as could be, with a fine-pointed bone awl. Then a small grub or worm, infesting the dried salmon as preserved in the houses, was placed in the excavation, and this was then sealed with a bit of pitch. The grub thus imprisoned is declared to have eaten the oil-soaked pith or heartwood, following the core, from one end to the other, finally eating its way out at the opposite end. Many of the grubs died, or did not take kindly to the oil-soaked pith; but, out of a dozen or more prepared sticks hung up under the roof during the winter, one or two were, it is claimed, generally found bored in the spring." [With illustration of a wooden tobacco pipe with stone pipe bowl.]<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Dixon, Roland B., *The Shasta*, the Huntington California Expedition, Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. XVII, part V, New York, July, 1907, pp. 391-392.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 394-395.

"Again she danced, and, speaking to those assembled, says, 'Küs apsū'tohokwira' ('Now he reaches for his pipe'); then, 'Küs kwa'ðk-wahir' ('Now he smokes'). Then, after a longer period of dancing, the Axè'ki speaks to the shaman, . . . ."<sup>24</sup>

1916

Mrs. Lucy Thompson mentions tobacco and pipes among the Yuruk Indians of the central part of the section of the Klamath River occupied by them as follows:

"The Klamath people have the same kind of tobacco that grows over a large part of the United States, which, when it grows up has small leaves. They prepare the ground and plant the seed but will not use any they find growing out of cultivation. They are very careful in gathering the plant and cure it by the fire, or in the hot sun, then pulverize it very fine, then put it up in tight baskets for use. It becomes very strong and often makes the oldest smokers sick, which they pass over lightly, saying that it is a good quality of tobacco. The women doctors all smoke but the other women never do. Their pipes are made out of yew wood with a soapstone for a bowl, the wood is a straight piece and is from three to six inches long and is larger at the bowl end where it joins on to the stone, it is notched in so it sets the bowl on the wood, making the pipe straight. They hold the pipe upwards if sitting or standing and it is only when lying on the back that one seems to enjoy the smoke with perfect ease, however they can handle the pipe to take a smoke in any position. Some of these pipes are small, not holding any more than thimble-full of tobacco. My people never let the tobacco habit get the better of them as they can go all day without smoking or quit smoking for several days at a time and never complain in the least. The men, after supper, on going into the sweat-house take their pipes and smoke and some take two or three smokes before they go to bed. The old women doctors will smoke through the day and always take a smoke before lying down to sleep. All inhale the smoking, letting it pass out of the lungs through the nose."<sup>25</sup>

"These plug hat men now select twelve or less boys and put them to making ribbons of bark which they stripe off very flowery by painting and carving, also making fancy Indian pipes, carving and painting them very artistically. These boys are called Charrah and the pipes and ribbons made by them are put on the top of long slim poles from

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 487.

<sup>25</sup> Thompson, Mrs. Lucy, To The American Indian, Eureka, Calif., 1916, p. 37.

twelve to fifteen feet long and are to be used at the finish of the fish dam. These poles have the bark taken off and are clean and white.”<sup>26</sup>  
“ . . . and fancy carved Indian pipes that the boys made, . . . ”<sup>27</sup>

1918

Loud, writing on the Indians about Humboldt Bay, gives the following mention of pipes and tobacco:

“Tobacco, *Nicotiana* sp.”<sup>28</sup>

“A species of tobacco native to California was the only plant cultivated, and has been mentioned in the Spanish account of the discovery of Trinidad bay.”<sup>29</sup>

“*Stone pipes.*—One clay pipe was obtained, which will be described under another heading, and two pipes made of steatite. The description of the stone pipes is as follows:

“Museum no. 1-18038 (pl. 17, figs. 1a and 1b), found in association with human remains no. 2. Length 240 mm., diameter 24 mm. Museum no. 1-18239 (pl. 17, fig. 2), found with human remains no. 19. Length 108 mm., diameter 22 mm.

“These pipes show great extremes in length, but are in no respect different from the majority of stone pipes found in northern California among the modern Indians. There are at least two species of tobacco indigenous to northern California, *Nicotiana bigelovii* and *Nicotiana attenuata*, both of which were used by the Indians. The Spanish discoverers of Trinidad Bay said that the Indians ‘used tobacco, which they smoked in small wooden pipes, in form of a trumpet, and procured from little gardens where they planted it.’ ”<sup>30</sup>

1925

Kroeber in his Handbook of the Indians of California tells of Yurok tobacco as follows. In his chapter on the Karuk, pp. 98-108, no mention is made of tobacco.

“All the tobacco smoked by the Yurok was planted by them—a strange custom for a nonagricultural people far from all farming con-

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. pp. 47-48, mentioned in the description of Kappel fish-dam ceremony.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 52, mentioned in Kappel fish-dam ceremony.

<sup>28</sup> Loud, Llewellyn L., University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, vol. 14, no. 3, Dec. 23, 1918, p. 232.

<sup>29</sup> See description of tobacco and tobacco pipes under the heading, “Objects of Steatite and Slate,” p. 234.

<sup>30</sup> “Don Antonio Maurello, op. cit., Barrington edition, pp. 366, 489.” [See quotation, p. 19 of present paper.]

tacts. The custom, which extends also to southwestern Oregon, and in the opposite direction probably to the Maidu, is clearly of local origin. Logs were burned on a hilltop, the seeds sown, and the plants nursed. Those who grew tobacco sold to those who did not. A woman's cap full or not full was the quantity given for a dentalium shell, according as this was of second smallest or shortest length—a high price. Tobacco grows wild also, apparently of the same species as the planted, but is never used by the Yurok, who fear that it might be from a graveyard, or perhaps from seed produced on a graveyard. The plant does seem to show predilection for such soil. Otherwise it sprouts chiefly along sandy bars close to the river; and this seems to have caused the choice of summits for the cultivated product.

"The pipe was tubular, as always in California. Its profile was concave, with the bowl flaring somewhat more than the mouth end. The average length was under 6 inches, but shamans' and show pieces occasionally ran to more than a foot. The poorest pipes were of soft wood, from which it is not difficult to push the pith. Every man who thought well of himself had a pipe of manzanita or other hard wood, beautifully polished, probably with the scouring or horsetail rush, *Equisetum*, which was kept in the house for smoothing arrows. The general shaping of the pipe seems to have been by the usual northwestern process of rubbing with sandstone rather than by cutting. The bowl in these better pipes was faced with an inlay of soapstone, which would not burn out in many years. Sometimes pipes had bits of *haliotis* inlaid next the steatite; others were made wholly of this stone. The pipe was kept in a little case or pouch of deerskin. It could be filled by simply pressing it down into the tobacco at the bottom of the sack. Pouches have been found in California only among the northwestern tribes. Tobacco was stored in small globular baskets made for the purpose. These receptacles are also a localized type. (Pl. 73, e.)

"A few old Yurok were passionate smokers, but the majority used tobacco moderately. Many seem never to have smoked until they retired to the sweat house for the night. Bedtime is the favorite occasion for smoking throughout California. The native Nicotianas are rank, pungent, and heady. They were used undiluted, and the natives frequently speak of them as inducing drowsiness."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Kroeber, A. L., Handbook of the Indians of California, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, Washington, 1925, pp. 88-89.

### III. Fā't pakunikxúriktihanik pekyā·varíhvā·nsa'

(BOTANICAL)

#### 1. Yiθúva kuma'ihé·raha'

(TOBACCO SPECIES)

The Karuk country lies well within the area of the tall form of *Nicotiana bigelovii*. It is the only tobacco which grew, wild or sown, in the Karuk territory or probably in that of any of the contiguous tribes, and was the only tobacco known to the Karuk or known by them to exist.

Prof. W. A. Setchell, of the department of botany of the University of California, is our best authority on the botanical aspect of Californian and other American tobacco species, and his fascinating work of raising and thus further testing the various species is known to many of his friends. In the notes given below (pp. 38-44) we follow his important article in the American Anthropologist<sup>1</sup> and other information furnished by Dr. Setchell, including the designation of the tall northern California form of *Nicotiana bigelovii* as *var. exaltata* Setchell, here for the first time published, although as a nomen nudum, with his permission.<sup>1a</sup> Dr. Setchell has been most generous in his assistance to the author in his tobacco studies in California, and deeply interested.

Of the 14 species of tobacco known to have been native to North America, there occurred in California 3 species, one of which has 3 forms, making in all 5 forms of tobacco in the State:

1. *Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson *var. typica*, occurring in a large area southeast of San Francisco Bay. This is probably to be called *var. typica*, since it is the taxonomic type.

2. *Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson *var. exaltata* Setchell. Professor Setchell has suggested to the writer that it may be well called *var. exaltata* since it is the tallest of all the forms of *bigelovii* and the most robust, reaching a height of more than 6 feet under favorable circumstances. This is the tobacco of California north of San Francisco and of southernmost Oregon. It is the tallest of the native tobaccos of California, exceeded in height only by *N. glauca*.

<sup>1</sup> Setchell, William Albert, Aboriginal Tobaccos, American Anthropologist, n. s., vol. 23, no. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1921, pp. 397-414, with map.

<sup>1a</sup> In his article in the American Anthropologist Setchell still refers to this variety as *forma alta*.

Graham, Tree Tobacco, a species of tobacco introduced from South America and now growing wild in California and other States.

3. *Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson var. *wallacei* Gray, from southern and Lower California, very distinct from nos. 1 and 2.

4. *Nicotiana attenuata* Torrey, the species which occupies the area to the east of California and eastern southern California.

5. *Nicotiana clevelandii* Gray, which occupies the southern California coast.

The writer has knowledge that all of these forms were used by the California natives where they occur. It will be noticed that three of them are forms of *N. bigelovii*. Our Karuk tobacco, *N. bigelovii* var. *exaltata*, has the distinction of being the tallest native tobacco in the State.

Outside of California two other species of native tobacco occur so closely related to *bigelovii* as to form with it a single group: 1. *Nicotiana multivalvis* Lindl., sown by the Indians of Oregon, Idaho and Montana, and 2. *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* Pursh., a species which has been "lost" in nature, never having been collected in the wild state, but known only as cultivated by the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Indians of the Plains area.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that according to Setchell both of these eastern species are probably *N. bigelovii* derivatives.

The principal literature on *Nicotiana bigelovii* is presented in the following quotations.

1856

Torrey<sup>3</sup> was the first to describe and name *Nicotiana bigelovii*, regarding it as possibly a variety of *N. plumbaginifolia*. The specimen was collected by Dr. John M. Bigelow, of the Whipple expedition, at Knight's Ferry, in the present Stanislaus County, Calif., in May, 1854, and is *N. bigelovii* (Torrey) Watson f. *typica*. According to Watson it seems that a specimen had already been collected by Frémont in 1846, but this is not mentioned or described by Torrey. *N. plumbaginifolia* Viv. is native to northeastern Mexico and crosses the Rio Grande into Texas.

"NICOTIANA PLUMBAGINIFOLIA, Dunal in DC. Prodr. 13, pars. 1, p. 569. Var.? BIGELOVII: annua; caule glanduloso-pubescente subsimplici; foliis oblongo-lanceolatis acutiusculis glabriusculis, in-

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<sup>2</sup> Probably some neighboring tribes had it as well.

<sup>3</sup> Torrey, John, Description of the General Botanical Collections, in Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-4, vol. 4, no. 4, House of Representatives, 33rd Cong., 2d sess., Executive Document No. 91, Washington, 1856, p. 127.

ferioribus in petiolem angustatis, superioribus sessilibus basi angustatis; panicula terminali laxiuscula; calyce glanduloso-pubescente, lacuniis lanceolato-linearibus inequalibus, corolla hypocraterimorpha, tubo elongato calyce 2-3-plo longiore, limbi laciniis lato-ovatis obtusiusculis. Knight's Ferry, Stanislaus river; May. We are unwilling to propose this as a new species, since there are so many others of the same genus that are very imperfectly known. Our plant does not agree with any *Nicotiana* described by Dunal (l. c.) but it seems to approach the nearest to *N. plumbaginifolia*."

1871

Watson raises Torrey's questioned variety to a species, and indicates that since Torrey's publication (1856) Torrey himself had collected the species in California and that more recently Anderson had collected it in western Nevada. Goodspeed, of the University of California, is working on the inner and genetic relationship of tobacco species, and only such studies can determine how closely *N. bigelovii* resembles *N. noctiflora* of Chile, as pointed out by Watson.

"NICOTIANA BIGELOVII. (*N. plumbaginifolia*, Var. (?) *Bigelovii*, Torr. *Pac. R. R. Surv.*, 4. 127.) Leaves sessile, attenuate at base; calyx glandular-pubescent, with unequal lance-linear lobes; corolla 2' long, tubular-funnel-form, the elongated tube 2-3 times longer than the calyx, the lobes broad-ovate, subacute; capsule obtuse, usually 4-6" long, shorter than the calyx; otherwise much like the last.— Collected by Bigelow, Frémont, (481, 1846,) and Torrey, (355,) in California, and by Anderson, (268,) in western Nevada. Much resembling *N. noctiflora*, of Chili, but the leaves are more attenuate at base and the corolla-lobes are not at all obcordate. PLATE XXVII. Fig. 3, Extremity of a branch. Fig. 4, A lower leaf; natural size."<sup>4</sup>

1878

Gray's description of *N. bigelovii* presents practically our modern knowledge of the species, except that he fails to distinguish var. *exaltata*, following the type specimens which are var. *typica* and only a foot or two high, although he mentions the occurrence of the species from Shasta County to San Diego, and var. *exaltata* occurs in Shasta County. Var. *wallacei* had, since Watson's description, been described by Wallace and by Cleveland from southern California.

<sup>4</sup> Watson, Sereno, Botany, in King, Clarence, Report of the Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Professional papers of the Engineer Department, U. S. Army, no. 18, Washington, 1871, p. 276. Pl. XXVII is opposite p. 276. Watson's Plate XXVII contains the earliest published drawing of *N. bigelovii*; the part of this plate containing the drawing of *N. bigelovii* is reproduced as Plate 5 of the present paper.

"*N. Bigelovii*, Watson. A foot or two high; leaves oblong-lanceolate, sessile or nearly so; the lower (5 to 7 inches long) with tapering base: the upper (3 to 1½ inches long) more acuminate, with either acute or some with broader and partly clasping base: inflorescence loosely racemiform, with all the upper flowers bractless: calyx-teeth unequal, linear-subulate, about equalling the tube, surpassing the capsule: tube of the corolla 1¼ to 2 inches long, narrow, with a gradually expanded throat; the 5-angulate-lobed limb 12 to 18 lines in diameter.—Bot. King, 276, t. 27, fig. 3, 4; Gray, Bot. Calif. l. c. 546. *N. plumbaginifolia?* var. *Bigelovii*, Torr. Pacif. R. Rep. iv. 127.—California, from Shasta Co. to San Diego, and eastward to Nevada and the border of Arizona.

"Var. *Wallacei*, a form of corolla smaller (the tube 12 to 16 lines long) and calyx-teeth shorter, but variable, sometimes hardly surpassing the capsule: upper leaves more disposed to have a broad and roundish or subcordate slightly clasping base; herbage, &c., more viscid.—Near Los Angeles and San Diego, Wallace, Cleveland.

" = = Ovary and capsule globular, 4-several-celled, at first somewhat succulent: the valves at maturity thin and rather membranous: corolla with ampler limb and proportionally shorter more funnelform tube—*Polydicia*, Don. *Polydiclis*, Miers."<sup>5</sup>

1921

It remained for Setchell to set aside from *N. bigelovii* var. *typica*, and ultimately to name, *N. bigelovii* var. *exaltata* of northwest California, which sometimes attains a height of 6 feet.

The third section of the genus *Nicotiana* is called the *Petunioides*-section, whose corollas are typically salverform and whose color is white, although often tinged with green, red, or purple. About twelve species or well-marked varieties of this section occur within the confines of North America or the adjacent islands, but only seven of them are at all definitely known to me as having been used by the Indians. There is a most interesting group of five species and varieties centering about *Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torr.) Watson and one very widespread species *Nicotiana attenuata* Torr. The five species of this section of the genus which are not as yet known to have been in use by the Indians are the following: *Nicotiana acuminata* var. *parviflora* Comes. ?, in central California; *N. clevelandii* Gray, in southwestern California, possibly used by the Santa Barbara and other tribes of coast Indians; *N. repanda* Willd., in southwestern Texas and adjacent portions of Mexico; *N. plumbaginifolia* Viv., in northeastern Mexico and crossing the Rio Grande into Texas; and *N. stocktoni* Brandegee, on Guadalupe Island off the coast of Lower California.

<sup>5</sup> Gray, Asa, *Synoptical Flora of North America*, vol. 2, part 1, 1st edition, New York, 1878, p. 243, also 2d edition, 1886, p. 243.

"The *Nicotiana Bigelovii*-group consists of three very well-marked varieties of *N. Bigelovii* (Torr.) Watson, *N. quadrivalvis* Pursh, and *N. multivalvis* Lindl. There is such a close resemblance in so many details of habit and structure that it certainly seems probable that the five distinct genetic entities of the *Bigelovii*-group must have originated from one and the same stock, possibly through mutation, but probably also complicated by more or less hybridization. Their distribution in nature and under aboriginal cultivation reenforces this assumption with strong arguments. The three varieties of *Nicotiana bigelovii* are found native in three separate portions of California, *N. multivalvis* was cultivated by the Indians in Oregon, Idaho, and Montana, while *N. quadrivalvis* was similarly cultivated in North Dakota. The distribution of this group runs from southern California north through the entire State of California and well into Oregon, possibly also entering the southeastern corner of the State of Washington. From Oregon, it bends eastward up along the tributaries of the Columbia River, across Idaho and the continental divide, and descends the Missouri River into Montana and North Dakota. With these ideas as to the group and its distribution, the way is made ready for a consideration of its various members.

"Torrey was the first to call attention to *Nicotiana bigelovii* which he named *N. plumbaginifolia?* var. *bigelovii*. This was as early as 1857. In 1871 Watson raised the variety to a species and published a more complete description, as well as a good figure of it. The type specimens came from the Sierran foothills in central California and are low spreading plants, with short internodes, ascending branches, large and conspicuous white flowers, and prominent glandular pubescence turning brownish, or rusty, with age. S. A. Barrett found it in the general type region in use among the Miwok Indians and was kind enough to obtain seed for me. I have grown it in the pure line for many years and find that it retains its distinctive varietal characteristics from generation to generation. This plant, the taxonomic type of *Nicotiana bigelovii*, occupies an area in the very center of California which is definitely limited and also separated from the areas occupied by the other varieties of the species.

"The plant which has usually passed under the name of *Nicotiana bigelovii*, however, is the tall erect variety found in abundance in the dry washes of stream-beds to the north of San Francisco Bay, from Sonoma, Mendocino, and Humboldt Counties eastward to Shasta and possibly also other counties of California. This variety, which as yet has no distinctive name, may reach a height of as much as six feet, has long erect branches with elongated internodes, and with large flowers which are more separated than in the plants of the taxonomic type. In common with the type of the species, this tall and erect variety has a decided tendency toward a three-celled ovary

and such are to be found in most well-developed plants although in a small percentage of the total number of capsules matured.<sup>[5a]</sup> Chestnut<sup>6</sup> states that this variety is used for smoking and also for chewing by all the Indian tribes of Mendocino County, California. Thanks to P. E. Goddard<sup>7</sup> and S. A. Barrett, I have perfectly reliable evidence that it is still used by the Hupa and the Pomo. The Hupa, at least, knew it both wild and cultivated,<sup>8</sup> but the Pomo seem to have used only the wild plant. As to how far the use of this variety extended into Oregon I am uncertain, but I have the opinion that, towards its northern limits and beyond them, attempts were made to cultivate it, as certainly was the case among the Hupa. Northern California represents the limit of the spontaneous distribution of any coastal species of Nicotiana and in Oregon we find that the cultivated tobacco of certain Indian tribes was a nearly related species, or possibly derived variety, of *N. bigelovii*, viz., *N. multivalvis* Lindl.

"There can be little doubt that it was some form of the *Bigelovii*-group of the genus Nicotiana which was used by the Indians whom Drake encountered in 1579, when he landed on the coast of California, somewhere in the vicinity of Drakes Bay. Wiener<sup>9</sup> remarks on Drake's account as follows: 'That *tobacco*, first mentioned in Hispaniola, should have found its way so far to the northwest, in addition to the rest of the continent, is a *prima facie* proof that the distribution of *tobacco* follows from its first appearance under Arabic influence, from Guinea to all countries where Spanish, Portuguese, and French sailors navigated via Guinea or after having taken part in Guinea expeditions.' The extreme improbability of *Nicotiana bigelovii* hav-

<sup>5a</sup> [Professor Setchell has furnished me the following additional information on this point: "I have found that in the tall form of *Nicotiana bigelovii* [sic] a small percentage of the ovaries are 3-celled. The occurrence of occasional 3-celled condition in this variety is to be contrasted with the situation in the variety *Wallacei*, which, so far as the examination of several thousand capsules indicated, is constantly 2-celled, and gives some indication of the possibility of 4-celled and of many-celled varieties arising from it by simple process of mutation. I should say that this is not a matter of 'abnormal capsules' [quoting letter of J. P. Harrington], but an indication of a tendency within the species. The 3-celled capsules occur usually on the lower parts of the plant."]

<sup>6</sup> "Plants used by the Indians of Mendocino County, California, *Contr. U. S. National Herb.*, vol. 3, pp. 386, 387, 1902."

<sup>7</sup> "Life and Culture of the Hupa, in *Univ. Calif. Pubs., Amer. Arch. and Eth.*, Vol. I, no. 1, p. 37, 1903."

<sup>8</sup> "Goddard, loc. cit."

<sup>9</sup> "Loc. cit., p. 141."

ing originated in Guinea and having been brought thence to the State of California, the only place where it has ever been known, and through any human agency, takes away the effectiveness of this "prima facie proof" and yields another strong probability that the tobacco of Hispaniola may have been carried from Hispaniola to Guinea rather than that any species of tobacco may have been brought from Guinea to Hispaniola or any other portion of the American Continent.

"The third variety of *Nicotiana bigelovii*, the var. *wallacei* Gray, is found in a limited area in southern California and distinctly separated, in its distribution, from either, or both, of the other varieties of the species. Var. *wallacei* is a plant of medium height, erect, and much more slender than either of the two varieties of central and of northern California. It has a smaller flower with more slender tube and I have never seen a three-celled ovary among several thousand examined, all the ovaries, and ripe capsules, having been found to be two-celled. While it is very probable that this variety may have been used by the Indian tribes of the region where it occurs, I have been unable to obtain any direct evidence that such was the case. Its relations with *Nicotiana clevelandii* Gray, both botanically and as to aboriginal use, are still very uncertain.

"When Lewis and Clark visited the Mandan villages in North Dakota in 1804,<sup>10</sup> they found the inhabitants smoking a kind of tobacco never seen previously by white men. They obtained specimens and seed for their collections as well as data for their report. The specimens brought back by them served as the type of the *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* Pursh<sup>11</sup> and are now preserved among the collections of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. The seed, or some of it at least, was distributed so that it was the source of the plants grown in various botanical gardens in Europe and its descendants are still to be found in some such institutions. A few years ago, through the courtesy of the Anthropological Section of the American Museum of Natural History of New York City, I was enabled to obtain from George F. Will, of Bismarck, N. Dak., and from Melvin Randolph Gilmore, of Lincoln, Nebr., seed of this species, which was still being cultivated by a Hidatsa Indian. I have grown the descendants of the plants from this seed and in the pure line for several generations and find that it still comes absolutely true to type as described by Lewis and Clark and as represented by the Lewis and Clark specimens. The plants very closely resemble those of the type of *Nicotiana bigelovii*, but the flowers are neither

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Thwaites, *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1804–1806, vol. 1, pp. 183, 186, 187, 1904; vol. 6, pp. 142, 149–151, 158, 1905, New York."

<sup>11</sup> "Flora Americae Septentrionalis. vol. 1, p. 141. 1814."

quite so large nor so graceful. The chief difference from any of the varieties of *N. bigelovii*, however, is to be found in the ovary. This is constantly 4-celled in *N. quadrivalvis*, while in *N. bigelovii* it is preponderatingly 2-celled, although 3-celled examples are frequent in the type and in the northern variety. *Nicotiana quadrivalvis* is not only the tobacco of the Mandan, but of the Arikara and the Hidatsa Indians as well. How they obtained it is not known, but it is not known outside of cultivation. This latter fact, taken in connection with the close resemblance to *Nicotiana bigelovii*, the only essential difference being the increase in the number of carpels as shown by the 4-celled ovary, makes it appear reasonably certain that *N. quadrivalvis* is only a derivative from some form of *N. bigelovii*. It may possibly have arisen by a single mutation or it may be a hybrid derivative from a cross between *N. bigelovii* and *N. multivalvis*. I have obtained forms very close to *N. quadrivalvis* as descendants of such a cross and such forms have appeared in the botanical garden of the University of California as the result of a probable spontaneous cross between the two species mentioned. It is of decided interest to find a *bigelovii* derivative so far from the *bigelovii* home and this interest is increased by the fact that *N. quadrivalvis* is connected in distribution with the Californian area by the area in which *N. multivalvis*, itself seemingly a *bigelovii* derivative, is found under aboriginal cultivation.

"The Hidatsa tobacco, which is fairly certainly *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*, has been the subject of study by Gilbert L. Wilson.<sup>12</sup> He says that the Hidatsa cultivate tobacco, but does not mention the species. It is not used by the young men because it prevents running by causing shortness of breath. It is not planted near corn because tobacco has a strong smell that affects corn. In harvesting, the blossoms are picked first, the white parts (corollas) being thrown away, and the stems and leaves are picked last. Both blossoms and stems are treated with buffalo-fat before being stored. The Hidatsa name for their tobacco, according to Lowie,<sup>13</sup> is ōpe.

"Melvin Randolph Gilmore,<sup>14</sup> in treating of the uses of plants by the Missouri River Indians, writes as if they all used *Nicotiana quadrivalvis*,<sup>15</sup> although he mentions specifically that his definite

<sup>12</sup> "Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians, an Indian Interpretation," *Univ. of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 9, Minneapolis, 1917, pp. 121-127."

<sup>13</sup> "The Tobacco Society of the Crow Indians, *Anthrop. Papers, Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.*, vol. 21, pt. 2, 1919."

<sup>14</sup> "Uses of Plants by the Indians of the Missouri River Region," *33rd Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnology* (for 1911-12), pp. 43-154, 1919."

<sup>15</sup> "Loc. cit. p. 59."

knowledge was of the Hidatsa tobacco only. He states that *N. quadrivalvis* was cultivated by all of the tribes of Nebraska,<sup>16</sup> but was lost as soon as they came into contact with Europeans and so completely that not even the oldest Omaha had ever seen it in cultivation. It seems fully as probable that the Nebraska tribes, being nomads, may not have cultivated tobacco, but probably obtained it by trade. In this case it seems just as likely that they may have obtained *Nicotiana rustica* from Indians of the Eastern Woodland Area or *N. attenuata* from those of the Plains Area, as to have received *N. quadrivalvis* from any one of the three tribes of village Indians of North Dakota.

"*Nicotiana multivalvis* Lindl., the fifth and last member of the *bigelovii* group to be considered, bears a striking resemblance to the type of *N. bigelovii* and also to *N. quadrivalvis* in habit, leaves, and shape—as well as color—of the flowers. The corolla, however, is usually more than 5-lobed, varying to as many as 12 or more lobes. The ovary is the characteristic feature of the species. It is composed of two circles of cells, one within the other as in the case of the ovary of the navel-orange. The capsule of *N. multivalvis* bears fertile seeds in all, or at least in most, of its cells. Such a form of ovary as this is evidently monstrous, at least from the point of view of the normal ovary of Nicotiana, and may be supposed to have been derived from a form such as the type of *N. bigelovii* by a relatively simple mutation. An additional argument as to the possible derivation of this species from some simpler form is the fact that it has not been found outside of cultivation.

"*Nicotiana multivalvis* was discovered by David Douglas<sup>17</sup> in August, 1825. The first specimen he saw of it was in the hands of an Indian at the great falls of the Columbia River, but, although he offered two ounces of manufactured tobacco, an enormous remuneration, the Indian would not part with it. The Indians planted it away from the villages so that it could not be pulled before maturity. They burned a dead tree or stump in the open wood and strewed the ashes over the ground to be planted. Later on, Douglas found one of the little plantations and helped himself to specimens. Soon after, however, he met the owner who appeared much displeased on seeing the plants under Douglas's arm. A present of an ounce of European tobacco appeased him and the present of an additional ounce induced him to talk of the Indian tobacco and to answer questions concerning it. Douglas learned from the Indian that he put wood ashes over the ground because it was supposed that the ashes make the tobacco plants to grow very large. He also learned that this species of tobacco

<sup>16</sup> "Loc. cit. p. 113."

<sup>17</sup> "Journal Kept by David Douglas, etc., London, 1914, pp. 59, 141 (sub. *N. pulverulenta* Pursh)."

grew plentifully in the country of the Snake Indians, who may have brought it from the headwaters of the Missouri River which they annually visited, and have distributed it from this region and in both directions east and west of the Rocky Mountains. This suggestion of the Indian probably represents a portion of the truth as regards the travels of this species, but the general trend must have been rather from the coast to the eastward and into the interior, if the botanical probabilities are duly considered.

"Through the kindness of Dr. Robert H. Lowie, of the American Museum of Natural History, I have been able to make certain that the tobacco which is of so much ceremonial importance among the Crow Indians is *Nicotiana multivalvis*. I have examined photographs of the tobacco gardens of the Crows, in which the plants showed their characters remarkably well, and also a pressed specimen of an entire plant concerning whose identity there can be no doubt. Dr. Lowie<sup>18</sup> has since published his paper on the subject and brought forward much detail concerning the planting and ceremonial use of this species. In his preface, Dr. Lowie says that the Tobacco Society loomed large in the tribal life of the Crow, its ceremonial activities probably ranking next to the Sun Dance. The Crows insist that their tobacco is different from that of the Hidatsa (*Nicotiana quadrivalvis*), and botanically this idea is correct. In connection with the query as to whence the Crow, and the Hidatsa as well, may have obtained their particular types of tobacco, Dr. Lowie, in addition to the botanical evidence, calls attention to the fact that in the languages of several of the tribes using the *bigelovii* group of tobaccos, the root of the word for tobacco is *ōp* or *up* and that the Diegueños, the Shasta, the Takelma, the Crow, and the Hidatsa agree in this, while the tribes using other species of tobacco apply terms from different roots.<sup>18a</sup> This linguistic evidence is of decided interest and importance, especially when taken in connection with the close botanical relationship of the species and varieties concerned."<sup>19</sup>

## 2. Pahū't 'uθváyttihva pehē'taha'

(THE NAME OF TOBACCO)

'Thé'raha', tobacco, tobacco plant, means merely that which is smoked, being a -ha' derivative of 'ihé'r, to smoke, just as 'ávaha', food, is derived from 'av, to eat.'

<sup>18</sup> "Loc. cit."

<sup>18a</sup> [Karuk 'u"uh, tobacco, see p. 45, is the same word.]

<sup>19</sup> Setchell, William Albert, Aboriginal Tobaccos, American Anthropologist, N. S., vol. 23, no. 4, Oct.-Dec. 1921, pp. 397-413, quotation from pp. 403-410.

But there is also another, old name for tobacco, 'u<sup>u</sup>h, which corresponds to words of similar sound in a number of Indian languages of western North America,<sup>19a</sup> and survives in Karuk as a prenoun, although the independent form of the word can be separated and restored by any speaker, and has very rarely been volunteered.<sup>20</sup> The following words, and some others, have it. It is felt to be identical in meaning with 'ihē·raha-, which can not be substituted for it in the words here given except in the case of 'uhsípnuuk, for which one may also say 'ihē·rahasípnuuk.

(1) 'úha<sup>f</sup>, nicotine, the pitchy substance which accumulates in a Karuk smoking pipe. The literal meaning is tobacco excrement. Cp. sicca<sup>f</sup>, semen; víθθaf<sup>f</sup>, mucus secretion of the vagina; 'a<sup>a</sup>f, excrement.

(2) 'uh?áhàkùv, name of one of the days of the new-year ceremony, literally a going toward tobacco. (See p. 244.)

(3) 'uhíppi', tobacco stem, tobacco stalk. With '-íppi' cp., independent 'íppi', bone, and 'íppa', tree, plant. (See pp. 51, 89.)

(4) 'ührâ·m, tobacco pipe of any kind, -râ·m, place.

(5) 'úhsípnuuk, tobacco basket, = 'ihē·rahasípnuuk, from sípnuuk, storage basket. (See pp. 103-131.)

(6) 'uhtatvára<sup>a</sup>r, sweathouse tobacco lighting stick, literally tobacco [coal] tong-inserter. (See pp. 188-190.)

(7) 'uhθí·crihra<sup>a</sup>m, mg. where they put tobacco, placename. (See p. 267.)

(8) 'uhtayvarára<sup>a</sup>m, mg. where they spoil tobacco, placename. (See p. 267.)

3. Pakó·vúra pananuppíric puyíθθa xày vura kunic va;<sub>2</sub> kumé·kyá·hara pehē·raha'íppa', vura tcicíhpuriθíppa kítc va;<sub>2</sub> kúníc kumé·kyáv, pa'apxanti·tc 'í·n takinippé'<sub>2</sub>r

(OF ALL KARUK PLANTS THE BLACK NIGHTSHADE IS MOST LIKE TOBACCO,  
THE WHITES TELL US)

The plant most closely related to tobacco botanically of those growing in the Karuk country is the Black Nightshade, *Solanum nigrum* L., called tcicíhpúriθ, dog huckleberry. Of it is said:

'Imxaθakké·m. Puffá·t vura They smell strong. Nothing  
'í·n 'á·mtihap. Kó·kaninay vur eats them. They grow all over.  
'u'ífti'. Payé·m vura va;<sub>2</sub> ká·n They grow more now where  
ta;<sub>2</sub>y 'u'ífti', paká·n pí·ns kun- beans are planted. They look  
lúhθā·mhitihíak. Va;<sub>2</sub> vura púriθ like huckleberries, but the dog  
'umússàhítí', kúna vura 'axvíθirar huckleberries are dirty looking,

<sup>19a</sup> See quotation from Setchell, p. 44.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 244, line 10.

'umússahiti patcicihpúriθ, 'uxraháθka'ay, pappíric k'yáru vur 'avvíθirarkuhic. Vura purafá't hárā, 'ú'u'x. Tcicí· 'ata ník 'ù:m vúr 'u'á'mti', 'ikki<sub>2</sub>te 'átā, vó'θvú'ytí tcicihpúriθ.

they are sour, the leaves also are dirty looking. It is good for nothing, it smells strong. I guess maybe dogs eat them, they are called dog huckleberries.

#### 4. Sahihé·raha karu mahihé·raha'

(DOWNSLOPE AND UPSLOPE TOBACCO)

Sah-, downslope, and mah-, upslope, are sometimes employed, always rather irregularly, to distinguish river and mountain varieties of an object. Thus xanθú'n, crawfish (\*sahxánθu'u'n is not used); mahxánθu'u'n, scorpion, lit. mountain crawfish. Xa'<sup>a</sup>θ, grasshopper (\*máhx'a'<sup>a</sup>θ is not used); sáhx'a'<sup>a</sup>θ, green grasshopper, lit. river grasshopper.<sup>21</sup> Ápxa'n, hat (\*sahápxa'<sup>a</sup>n is not used); mahápxa'<sup>a</sup>n, a hunter's hat overlaid mostly with pine roots, also called taripanáp-xa'<sup>a</sup>n, dipper basket hat, lit. mountain hat. Vuhvíha', (1) deerskin dance in general, (2) jump dance; but sahvuhvíha', deerskin dance, regular name of the deerskin dance, lit. river deerskin dance.<sup>22</sup>

So also with tobacco. The Indians go beyond the botanist and make what is for them a very necessary distinction. Sahihé·raha', river tobacco, is applied only to the wild tobacco, self-sown. It is very properly named, since wild tobacco is known to be fond of sandy stretches of river bottoms and is rumored to be particularly vile. But none of the informants had ever heard Goddard's statement that such tobacco is poisonous.<sup>23</sup> River tobacco was never smoked, but volunteer tobacco growing about the sweat houses was often picked and smoked (see p. 78), and sweat houses were mostly downslope institutions and so this comes painfully near to smoking river tobacco.

The other, sown, people's tobacco was called in contradistinction mahihé·raha', mountain tobacco, although the term was seldom used. Tapasihé·raha', real tobacco, was felt to be a more proper distinction, or one could say 'araré·hé·raha', people's, or if you will, Indians', tobacco.

The term for any volunteer plant is píffapu'. This is applied to either sahíhér·aha' or tapasihé·raha', provided the tobacco has not been planted by people. All native tobacco is píffapu' now.

It is thought that the seeds of sahíhér·aha' float down from upriver. This gives it a foreign, extraneous aspect. Any tobacco growing

<sup>21</sup> Cp. again káhx'a'<sup>a</sup>θ, upriver grasshopper, a species living at the Klamath Lakes, said closely to resemble sáhx'a'<sup>a</sup>θ.

<sup>22</sup> The writer has many additional examples of this distinction.

<sup>23</sup> "The wild form found along the river they say is poison." Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, p. 37.

upslope tends, on the other hand, to be identified with tapasihé·raha'. It is inferred that it has escaped from the plots, or to have perpetuated itself as a volunteer crop at some long abandoned plot. They realize that this volunteer tapasihé·raha is not as robust and strong as when it was sowed in ashes, weeded and tended, but it is, nevertheless, tapasihé·raha'.

It is said that even today, when both kinds are growing wild, one can distinguish them instantly:

Pu'ikpíhanhara pasahihé·raha',  
 xá:t va: 'ár uhé'er. 'Astí:p vur  
 'u'ífti yuxná:m. Vúra pu'u'h-  
 ó:mhítihap. Vúra yá·ntcip kúk-  
 ku:m vura ká:n tupiscí·pri:n.  
 'Ára:r 'u:m vúra pu'ihe'rátihara  
 pasahihé·raha'.

Kuna vura patapasihé·raha  
 'u:m kunic 'axváhaha:, tí:k'yan  
 'ar uxváhahiti patu'áffica:k  
 pátapasihé·raha'. Tírihca pamúp-  
 píric, 'ikpíhan, 'imxaθakké':m.

That river tobacco is not strong, if a person smokes it. It grows by the river in the sand. They do not sow it. Every year it grows up voluntarily. The Indians never smoke it, that river tobacco.

But the real tobacco is pithy, it makes a person's hands sticky when one touches it, the real tobacco does. It has wildish leaves, it is strong, it stinks.

## 5. Pehé·raha'íppa mupik'yutunváramu"<sup>24</sup>, karu kó·vúra pamúθvuý.<sup>24</sup>

### (MORPHOLOGY OF THE TOBACCO PLANT)

#### A. Kó·vúra pehé·raha'íppa'

##### (THE PLANT)

Píric means (1) leaf, (collective) foliage, (2) plant of any kind, except that when applied to trees, which are termed 'íppa', it resumes its meaning of foliage, referring either to that of the entire tree or to a branchy or leafy sprig or piece of the tree. Píric is also the common word for bush or brush, being used in the plural equivalent to pirícri'lk, brush, brushy place. Píric is commonly used of the leaves of the tobacco plant (see p. 52), but can also be applied to the tobacco plant as a whole; it is sometimes employed contemptuously, e. g. 'íp nim-máhat pamihé·rahappíric, I saw your good for nothing tobacco weeds; or with reference to the plant or leaves when first pricking above the soil: Yá:n vur 'u'íkk'yùsúnùtihàtc pehé·rahappíric, the tobacco is just

<sup>24</sup> Or pehé·raha'íppa pakó: 'uθvúytti·hva pamucvitáva. Pamupik'yutunváramu", its joints, is applicable to the parts of a plant, and is the proper term, but can not be said of the parts of a one-piece object, like a pipe, of which pamucvitáva, its various parts or pieces, must be used.

starting to come up. The diminutive of *píric*, *piric'anammahatc*, pl. *pinictunvēttcas*, is used especially of grotesque or useless leaves or plants, or of little weeds coming up, e. g., in a tobacco plot.

Tree is '*ippa*', although this can also be applied to smaller plants, and the compound '*ihē·raha'ippa*', tobacco plant, is actually volunteered.

Vine is '*atatúrá·n'nar*, one that grows all over.

Garden plants are distinguished from wild ones by such an expression as '*uhθamhako·kfā·ttcas*', different kinds of planted ones. Vegetables are '*uhθamha'ávaha*', planted food.

A tobacco plant is usually called merely '*ihē·raha*', tobacco; but one may also say '*ihē·raha'ippa*', '*ihē·rahappíric*, or '*uhfppi*'; the last properly meaning tobacco stalk, can be used of the entire plant. (See p. 51.) '*Ihē·raha'ippa*' is sometimes used of the stem. (See p. 51.)

The topmost part of the tobacco plant is called '*ihē·raha'ipaha'íppanite* ('íppanite, top). The top in contradistinction to the root is called *pamu'ippa*, its stalk or plant, or *pamuppíric*, its foliage. The last word is used, e. g., of carrot tops as contrasted with the roots.

The base or lower part of the tobacco plant is called '*ihē·raha'ipaha'áffi* ('affi, base).

The following general observations were volunteered on habits of growth of the tobacco plant:

'Á?ya·tc vur uvé·hrím'va po·'  
'í·fti' pehē·raha".<sup>25</sup> Kó·mahitc  
vura po·vé·hpí·θvuti pamúpti"<sup>26</sup>k.

Pehē·raha'ippa 'u:m vura 'iváx·  
ra kunic kó·vúra, pu'ássarha·ra,  
sákri<sup>v</sup>. Pehē·rahá·pti'k, pa'u·  
híppi sákri·vca, puyá·mahukite  
kupé·cpáttahitiha·ra. Patakikyá·  
ha'a:k pa'uhíppi', takunvupák-  
sí·priñ.

Ká·kum vura 'álvári po·ífti',  
karu ká·kum vura 'á·punitc. Va:  
vura 'alvarittá·pas 'u'ífti'<sup>26</sup> pa'á-  
vansa'ávahkam vari tu'iffaha'a:k.  
Va: 'u:m vúra hitíha:n 'araré·θ-  
vá·yvári va: kó· vár·ramashiti'.  
Vá·ramás.

The tobacco plant stands straight up as it grows. Its branches just spread a little.

The tobacco plant is all dryish, it is not juicy, it is tough. The tobacco-branches, the tobacco-stems are tough; they do not break easily. When they pick the tobacco stems they cut them off.

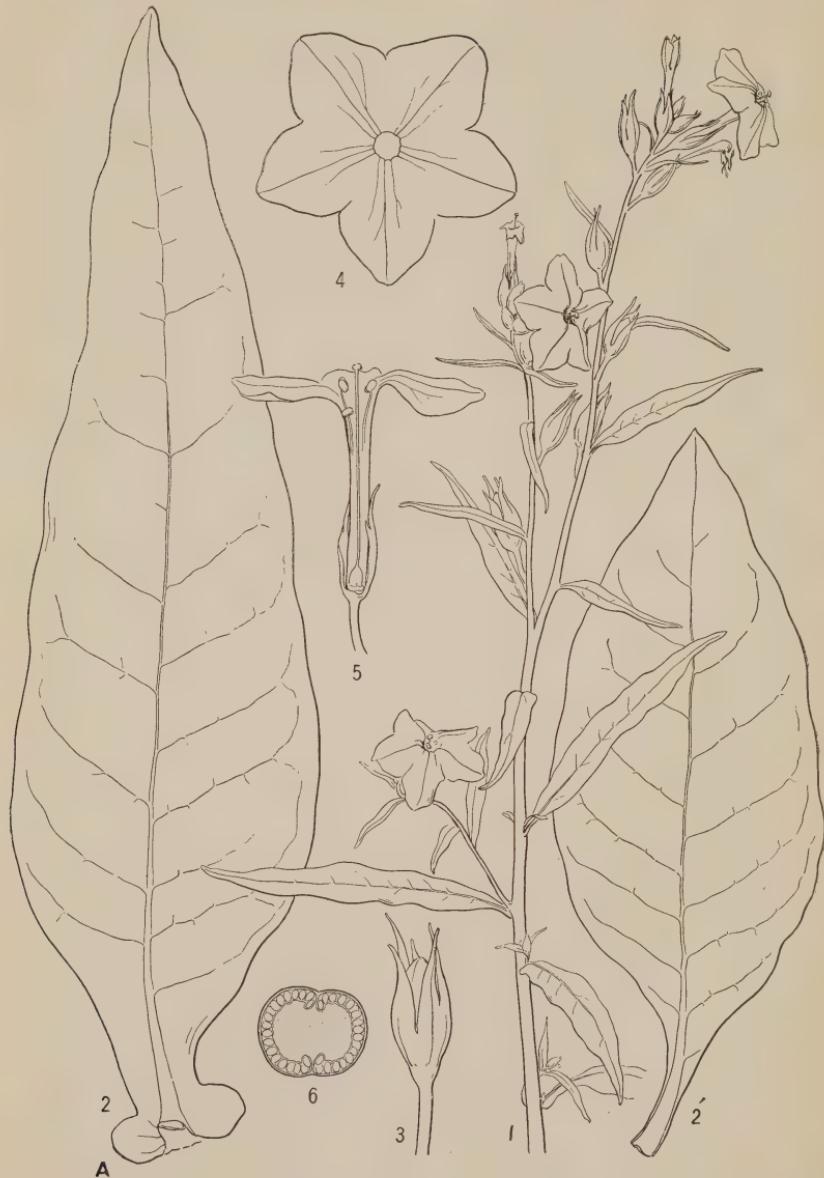
Some [tobacco plants] grow low, some high. The highest that they grow is higher than a man. But most of the time they come up to a person's chest. They are tall.

<sup>25</sup> Or *pehē·raha'ippa*.

<sup>26</sup> Or *va: vur 'upifyí·mmuti*', the highest it ever grows.



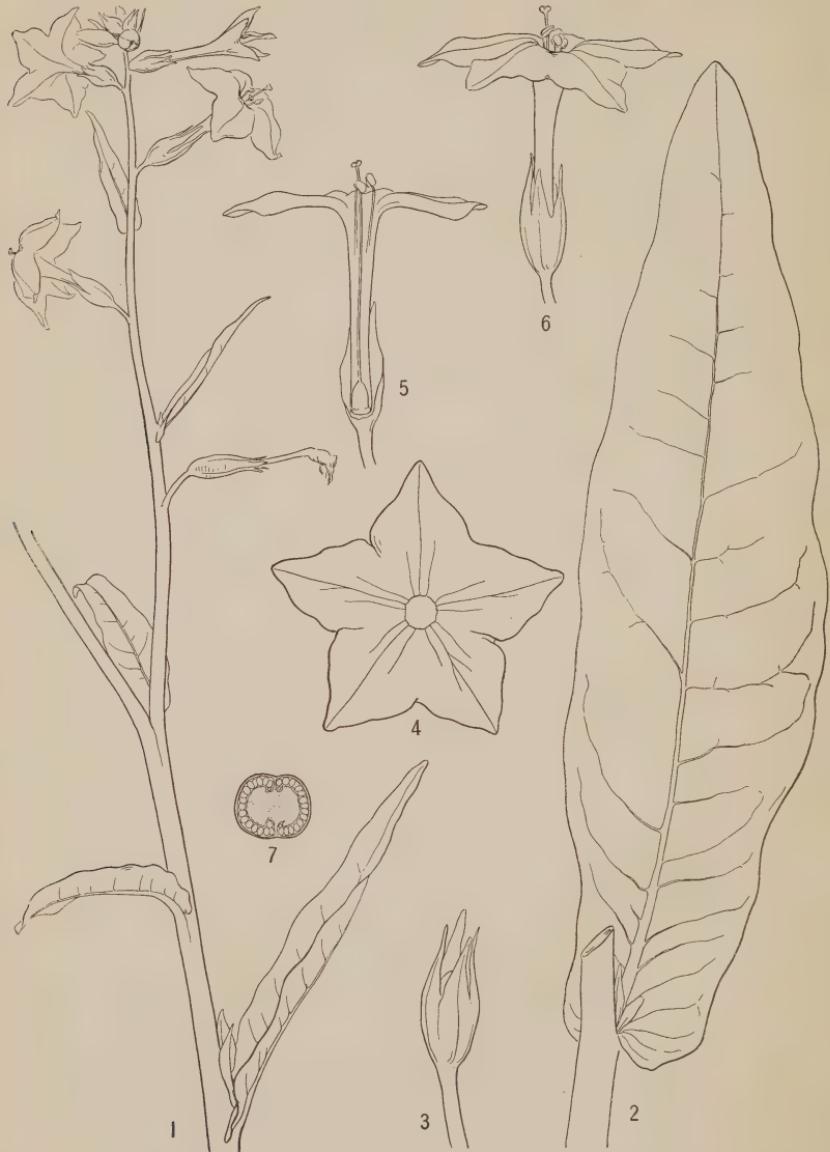
REPRODUCTION OF PLATE XXVII OF WATSON'S REPORT, 1871, FIRST ILLUSTRATION OF *Nicotiana bigelovii*



Nicotiana Bigelovii (Torr.) Watson var. exaltata Setchell, Drawings  
of 2-valved Specimen, W. A. Setchell



*Nicotiana bigelovii* (Torr.) Watson var. *exaltata* Setchell, Drawings  
of 2-valved Specimen, W. A. Setchell



NICOTIANA BIGELOVII (Torr.) Watson var. EXALTATA SETCHELL, DRAWINGS  
OF 2-VALVED SPECIMEN, W. A. SETCHELL



NICOTIANA BIGELOVII (TORR.) WATSON VAR. EXALTATA SETCHELL, DRAWINGS  
OF EXCEPTIONAL 3-VALVED SPECIMEN, W. A. SETCHELL

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 94 PLATE 10



MRS. PHOEBE MADDUX AT FORMER TOBACCO PLOT UPSLOPE OF GRANT HILLMAN'S PLACE, ACROSS THE RIVER FROM ORLEANS, CALIF.

a. Pahú·t 'u'iftakantákkanti', 'úmxā·θti', 'u'ákkati', 'umússahiti'  
 (SENSE CHARACTERISTICS)

The following sense characteristics are attributed to the tobacco plant:

a'. Pahú·t 'u'iftakantákkanti'  
 (FEELING)

Xú:s kunic 'ár u'iftakankó·tti patu'áfficaha'a·k, tobacco is smooth and sticky when one feels of it.

b'. Pahú·t 'úmxā·θti'  
 (SMELL)

Karu vura pehē·raha vur imxaθakké·m. Hárí vura 'axvá·hkúha-haha pató·msákkaraha'a·k. And tobacco stinks. Sometimes it makes a person's head ache when he smells it.

c'. Pahú·t 'u'ákkati' (TASTE)

Pehē·raha 'apmá:n 'ukrix'yíp-xú·pti<sup>27</sup> 'ára, 'ú'ux, xára vur ap-má:n u'ákkati'.

Va:tákunpí:p fá:t vúrava pa-'ú·xha'a·k: "Ú'ux, 'ihé·raha kó: 'ù'ú'x." Nanitta:t mit 'upó·võ-tihà:t, pafá:t vúrava 'ú·xhá:a·k: "Ihé·raháxi:t k'yúník k'yó: 'ù'ú'x."

Hárí takunpakátkat payâ:f, pakari kuntákkiritiha'a·k, kárixas tákunpí:p: "Ihé·raha vura kari k'yó: 'ù'ú'x payâ:f."

Tobacco burns a person's mouth, it tastes bad.

They say when anything tastes bad: "It tastes bad, it tastes as bad as tobacco." My mother used to say when anything tasted bad: "It tastes as bad as green tobacco."

Sometimes when they taste of acorn dough, when they are still soaking it, they say: "The acorn dough tastes as bad as smoking tobacco yet."

d'. Pahú·t 'umússahiti'  
 (SIGHT)

Payá:n vur 'u'íftíha'a·k puxx'ítc ðúkkinkuñic, pehē·raha'íppa', patcim 'umtúppe·caha'a·k, va:t kari taváttavkuñic.

When it is just growing, the tobacco plant is real green, when it is already going to get ripe, it is then light-colored.

For the turning yellow of tobacco leaves, see page 100. For observations on the color of tobacco flowers, see page 55.

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<sup>27</sup> Cp. 'apman'i·krix'yúpxup, (black) pepper, lit. that which burns the mouth.

b. 'Imnak karu 'ámta'<sup>a</sup>p

(CHARCOAL AND ASHES)

Chemically changed tobacco plant material would be designated as follows:

'Thē·rahé·mnak, tobacco charcoal.

'Thē·rahá·mta'<sup>a</sup>p, tobacco ashes.

## c. Pehē·raha'úhθā·msa'

(TOBACCO PLOTS)

A tobacco plot, and now any garden, orchard, or plantation, is called 'úhθa'<sup>a</sup>m, whence 'úhθā·mhà', to plant, to sow. Here 'uh- is not the old word for tobacco, but to be connected with 'úhič, seed; -θa'<sup>a</sup>m, to put. More specifically: 'ihē·raha'úhθa'<sup>a</sup>m, tobacco plot. Also 'ihē·raha'uhθamhí'am, tobacco garden; pámitva 'ihē·raha'uhθam-híramhāník, former tobacco plot. Of any place where tobacco grows, sown or unsown, one may say: pe'hē·rah u'i·ftihífak, place where tobacco grows. Plate 10 shows 'Imk'yánva'<sup>a</sup>n at a former tobacco plot.

In contrast to the above words, should be noticed píffapu', any volunteer plant; 'ihē·rahapíffapu', volunteer tobacco plant or plants. One should note also sah'i·hē·raha', used for distinguishing the wild from the sown variety of tobacco. (See pp. 46-47.)

d. Pa'é·pu'<sup>u</sup>m

(ROOT)

'Thē·raha'é·ppu'<sup>u</sup>m, tobacco root, from 'é·ppu'<sup>u</sup>m, root. Rootlet is called 'e·púm'anammahate, pl. 'e·pumtunvé<sup>e</sup>tc. The bottom of the root is called 'e·pum<sup>i</sup>afiví<sup>i</sup>tc, from 'afiví<sup>i</sup>tc, bottom. A corresponding 'e·pum<sup>i</sup>ipanni<sup>i</sup>tc, top of the root, would scarcely be applied. Only for bull pine roots used for basketry is the special term 'ictcā-tcip, and 'é·ppu'<sup>u</sup>m is not applied.

## e. Pa'uhíppi'

(STALK)

The commonest word for the stalk of plants is sú·f, fish backbone, which also means pith. (See p. 52.) Or 'áhuþ, wood, stick, can be used. Thus of a sunflower stalk one can say müssu'<sup>u</sup>f, its fish backbone, or mu'áhuþ, its stick. But of the backbone of animals other than fish súffań must be employed; while the backbone of a deer from which the ribs have been cut is called 'iktcúrahähà'. Leaf stem is never called sú·f (see p. 53), but flower stem is regularly so called (see p. 56).

Another equally curious term, which has to be applied to certain stalks, is 'ávan, husband, male, applied (1) to the leafless stalks of scouring rush in contradistinction to the leafy ones, which are called

'asiktáva'<sup>28</sup>n, woman, female; (2) to stalks which are bare, like a sprout, but have a bunch of leaves at the base, in this case the leaves being designated as the female. The idea is that the bare stalk resembles the undressed Indian male while the leafiness or leaves suggest the Indian woman with her dress. In enumerating these stalks called 'ávan, the series of cardinal numerals with -'ávan post-pounded, meaning so and so many men, can not be used, but one must use the ordinary cardinals; thus 'itáhárávan, 10 men, but 'itrá·hyar pa'ávan, 10 stalks.

A young, succulent sprout or stalk, especially one which has just come up and is still leafless, is designated as kúppat.

None of the terms for stalk or stem above listed can be applied to the tobacco stalk or stem, the latter being called by the special term 'uhíppi', tobacco bone. The prebound is for 'u'h, already discussed as the old designation of tobacco in the language, while 'íppi' is the common word for bone. Cp. súf, fish backbone, applied to the stalks of other plants. Neither súf, 'áhúp, nor 'ávan, discussed above is applied to the stem of tobacco. The reason for the special term is because the harvested and prepared tobacco stems were a commodity and also had use in religious performances; otherwise we should probably find no special terminology.

'Thé·raha'íppa', meaning strictly tobacco plant, is sometimes applied to the stalk.

A joint in a stem, such as is conspicuous in the scouring rush, is called 'ik'yutunváramu<sup>u</sup>', and this word is also loosely applied to the internodes between the joints, e. g. vármas pamu'ik'yutunváramu<sup>u</sup>, the sections between its joints (lit. its joints) are long. Here again in the case of tobacco there is no application of the word.

'Ápti'<sup>1</sup>k is the common word for limb or branch, such as a tree has. The same word is applied to the branches or stemlets which leave the main stalk of the tobacco. The tendency would here be to say 'ihé·raha'ptiktunvé·ttcaš, little tobacco branches, putting the word in the diminutive: or muptiktunvé·ttcaš, its little branches. From 'ápti'<sup>1</sup>k is derived 'aptíkk'yář, it has many branches, it is branchy, used about the same as 'úpti·khítì', it has branches, limbs.

The following remarks were made with regard to tobacco stems:

'Unúhyá·tcás pa'uhíppi, su? kunic 'árunsa'.<sup>28</sup> 'Ákθí·pkūnic, 'akθíp'iváxra', pa'uhíppi', patuvaxráha'<sup>28</sup>k.

The tobacco stems are round [in section] and empty inside. They are like 'ákθí'<sup>1</sup>p [grass sp.], like dry 'ákθí'<sup>1</sup>p, the tobacco stems, when they get dry.

<sup>28</sup> 'Ussúrvárahítì', it is hollow, 'ussuruvárahítì', they tpl. are hollow, suggests a larger cavity than the tobacco stems have. It is well known to the Karuk that the stems are hollow.

*f. Pamúmma<sup>'a</sup>n*

(BARK)

The general term for skin or bark is *ma'*<sup>a</sup>n. Thus the same word is applied to the skin of a person or the bark of a tree. *Múmma<sup>'a</sup>n*, its skin or bark; '*ummánhítí*', it has skin or bark.

The shreddy bark of cedar and grapevine is called the same; one may say of it '*imyá't kúníc 'upiyáttunvárámó·hití*', it is like fur all compressed together.

The peelings (consisting mostly of bark) of hazel sticks and willow sticks used in basketry are called by the special term *θarúffe'<sup>e</sup>p*. About the first of May these sticks were gathered and at once peeled, resulting in big piles of the peelings. These peelings were sometimes spread on the floor of the living house as a mattress for sleeping; they were used as a rag for wiping things; and among the Salmon River Indians a dress was sometimes made of the peelings to be worn by a girl during the flower dance.

The outside of the tobacco stem is regularly called *múmma<sup>'a</sup>n*, its skin or bark, although botanically speaking tobacco has no bark.

*g. Pamússu<sup>'u</sup>f*

(PITH)

The pith, e. g., of arrowwood, which is removed when making an arrowwood pipe, is called *sú·f*, fish backbone, the same word that is applied to the stalks of plants, since the pith lies in the stalk or wood as the backbone lies inside the fish.

The tobacco stem is said to have pith: *pehē·raha'íppa 'usú·fhi* *su?*, the tobacco plant has pith inside.

*h. Pamússa<sup>'a</sup>n*

(LEAF)

The most general term for leaf is *píric*, which also means plant, as fully discussed above. (See pp. 47-48.)

Another general word for leaf is *sa'*<sup>a</sup>n, already recorded in the Gibbs vocabulary of 1852. *Sa'*<sup>a</sup>n also means maple tree, which is noted for its useful leaves. (See p. 53.)

Tender, young green leaf of plants, when they first come up, is called by the special term *xi'it*.<sup>29</sup>

All of the above terms may be applied to tobacco leaves. The forms with the word for tobacco prepounded are '*ihē·rahappíric*', '*ihē·rahássa<sup>'a</sup>n*', and '*ihē·raháxxi't*'. One can not say '*\*sanžihē·raha'* or '*\*piricžihē·raha'* for leaf tobacco; only '*ihē·rahássa<sup>'a</sup>n*'.

<sup>29</sup> For color description mentioning the *xi'it* of the tobacco plant, see p. 267.

The corresponding verbs used of such leaves being put forth are píricha', sá·nha', and xí·tha'.

Leaf stem, called petiole scientifically, and also leaf branch is called sanápti'<sup>1</sup>k, leaf branch. Piric?ápti'<sup>1</sup>k is not a very good term, since it suggests the branch, limb, or twig of a piece of foliage, e. g., from a tree, rather than leaf stem.

Leaf stem is never called su<sup>2</sup>tf, although flower stem is so called. (See p. 56.)

A maple leaf stem is called by the special term 'ápsi'<sup>1</sup>, leg: sanpíric múpsi'<sup>1</sup>, maple leaf its leg; or sanápsi'<sup>1</sup>, maple leaf leg. Maple leaf stems come into prominence from their use in pinning and tying maple leaves together into sheets. (See footnote 32.) As far as can be explored, this terminology is never actually applied to any other kind of leaf stem, but can easily be extended as is done in the text below, second paragraph.

Of tobacco leaves in general, the following was dictated:

'Afiv'ávahkam 'a·lvánnihite xas po ppírichiti<sup>30</sup> pamu'ihe·rahás-sa'<sup>a</sup>n, 'áffiv 'u:<sup>m</sup> vura piríccíppux Pehé·rahassá:<sup>a</sup>n tiníhyá·ttcaš, va:<sup>a</sup> pakun*h*ihé·rati'. Vá·ramsa', ipan-yíttcihca' pehé·rahappíric. Piric-yá·matcaš, xútnáhítcaš, tiníh-yá·tcàs, 'ipanyíttcihca', tímx'yú·skúnicaš.<sup>31</sup> 'Á·nkúnic su?<sup>1</sup> usasíppi·θvà', 'á·tcip 'á·nkunic 'u'icíp-várá·hítì', kó·vúra vo·kupitti pa-muppíric, 'á·tcip 'á·nkunic 'u'icíp-várá·hítì'. Pu'imyáttarashařa. Pehé·rahássá:<sup>a</sup>n xú:<sup>s</sup> kunic 'iθvá·y-k'yamkám, kô·mahite vur 'u'áx-vahahitihafc pehé·rahasanvás-síhk'yámkám.

Pamuppíric vura pu'ivrárás-súrùtihàřà, sákri·vca pamúpsi'<sup>1</sup>, 'íppam kunic pamupiric?ápsi'<sup>1</sup><sup>32</sup> paká:<sup>a</sup>n 'u'iscúrō·tihírak sákri-vca'.

Somewhat up the stem the leaves commence; the base is without leaves. The tobacco leaves are widish ones; those are what they smoke. The tobacco leaves are long, pointed. They are nice leaves, thin [sheetlike], not very wide, sharp pointed, smooth-edged. They have little threads in them, with a filament running down the middle; they are all that way, with a filament running down the middle. They are not hairy. Tobacco leaves are smooth on top, but a little hairy on the underside.

The leaves do not fall off, they are tough leaf-stemmed, their leaf-stems are like sinew, where the leaves grow off [from the stem] is tough.

<sup>30</sup> Or po·ssá·nhiti'.

<sup>31</sup> Or xu·skúnicaš pamúttí·m.

<sup>32</sup> A term carried over from maple leaf nomenclature. The maple leaf stems, which are stuck through the leaves and tied together in making maple leaf sheets, look just like a leg with a little round foot at the bottom, and are regularly called san?ápsi'<sup>1</sup>, maple leaf foot, while one could also say sa:<sup>a</sup>n múpsi'<sup>1</sup>, maple leaf its foot.

On the differing characteristics of leaves at the different sections of the plant, the following was volunteered:

'Ipansúnnukiteva<sub>x</sub> ká:n payé·p-ca', 'ikpíhan pehē·raha', kunic 'ar u'iftakankó·t'i', va<sub>x</sub> pehē·ra-hayé·pca ká:n vári.<sup>33</sup> 'Áffi vári 'u:<sub>x</sub>m pu'ifyayé·pcahara pehē·ra, 'úmvá:<sub>x</sub>yti', 'imteáxxáhámú· karu vura 'úmvá:<sub>x</sub>yti', karu vura paθí-hámú<sup>"</sup>k, paθíhámú· karu vura 'úmvá:<sub>x</sub>yti'. Va<sub>x</sub> 'u:<sub>x</sub>m yíθeu kunyé·crí·hvúti', patakunikyá·ha<sup>"</sup>a<sub>x</sub>k.

Toward the top they are good leaves, it is strong tobacco, like it would stick to a person, they are good tobacco leaves that side. Toward the base the tobacco leaves are not so good, they are wilted, they are wilted with the sunshine and also with the rain, with the rain also they are wilted. They put it apart when they work it.

### i. Pamuxváha'

(GUM)

'Axváha', pitch, also any gum, also asphalt, and bitumin, now that they know this substance through the Whites. Much attention and mention in conversation is given to tobacco gum, it being called 'axváha', gum, 'ihé·rahá·xváha', tobacco gum, or muxváha', its gum. From 'axváha' is formed tó·xváháha', it is gummy.

Va<sub>x</sub> kunippítti: "'Imxaθakké<sup>"</sup>m, 'ikpíhan, pehē·rahá·xváha'."

Va<sub>x</sub> karixas kunxúti tó·mtu pehē·raha', patákunma tó·xváhaha', Xás to·ppí:p: "Tcímí nictükke<sup>"</sup>c, tó·xváhaha'."

They say: "It stinks, it is strong, the tobacco gum."

Then they know the tobacco is ripe, when they see it is gummy. Then one says: "Let me pick it, it is gummy."

### j. Pe·θríha karu pahú·t 'uθvúytti·hva pamusvitává

(THE FLOWER AND HOW ITS VARIOUS PARTS ARE CALLED)

Any flower is called 'iθríha', and from this is formed 'iθríhaha', to bloom, often contracted to 'iθríha'. The diminutive is 'itcniháhi<sup>"</sup>tc, e. g., a child will say 'itcniháhi<sup>"</sup>tc nicá·nvúti', I am packing little flowers. Willow catkins can be called 'iθríha', but there is also a special term for them, sápru<sup>"</sup>k, olivella, they being likened to the ocean shells known to the Karuk through trade; thus kufipsápru<sup>"</sup>k, catkin of kúffíp, Arroyo Willow. Corn tassel is called kó·n'iθríha', corn flower. Flower is never applied to "sweetheart" as it is among some Indians, uxnaθítc, strawberry being used instead. Nani'uxná-hítc, my girl, lit. my strawberry. Tobacco flower is called 'ihé·rahe·θríha'.

<sup>33</sup> Referring to that part of the plant.

On tobacco flowers in general the following was dictated:

'Ihē·rahe·θrīha; vupxárahsa', 'iərihaxárahsa'. 'Arara' īn k'yunic 'imm'yū·stihap pehē·re·θrīha'.

Yā·matcas pamuθrīha pe·hē·raha', tcántca·fkúnicas. Vúram e·mxaθakké·msa'.

Púvakó· tcántca·fkúnicashara pa'arare·hē·re·θrīha', pasahřihē·raha kō· tcántca·fkúnicas. Pú·puxwí tcántca·fkúnicashara pa·muθrīha pa'arare·hē·raha'.

Any bunch or cluster of flowers intact on the plant is called piktcūs, the same term which is applied, e. g., to a bunch of grapes. Thus 'iərihapíktcuš, a bunch of flowers. 'Aypíktcuš, a bunch of grapes. Ták páyk'yuk papiktcūs, give me that bunch.

But 'ákka'<sup>a</sup>, a bunch of things picked and assembled, e. g., a bouquet of flowers. 'Iəriha'ákka'<sup>a</sup>, a bunch of [picked] flowers.

'Upíktcū·skáhiti pamuθrīha pehē·raha', the tobacco flowers are in a bunch. Pehē·rahe·θrīha 'upiktcússahina·ti', the tobacco flowers are in bunches; this refers to several bunches, for a tobacco plant never has just one bunch on it. 'Ihē·rahe·θrīhapíktcússař, a place where there are bunches of tobacco flowers, e. g., on one or on many plants. Pehē·raha va; tukupa'iffaha pamuθrīha; 'upiktcuskō·hiti', tobacco flowers grow in bunches. Payáv tukupa'iffaha'ak 'upiktcuskō·hiti pamuθrīha', when it grows well it has bunches of flowers all over. 'Ihē·raha'ippa pamuθrīh 'upiktcuskō·hina·ti', the tobacco plants have bunches of flowers all over them.

One set of expressions for bud are derived from 'úru, (1) to be round, (2) egg. These are: (a) 'úruha', lit. to put forth something round, (1) to bud, (2) to lay an egg. E. g. pakúffip tu'úruha', tcim uppíriche'eč, the willow trees are budding, they are about to leaf out. This verb is never used of young seed pods. (b) 'Urúkku"<sup>u</sup>, to bud, lit. knob is on. This is used both of buds and of young seed pods being on the plant, especially of the latter in the case of tobacco, since the growing seed capsules are more conspicuous and of greater interest to the Indian who is about to harvest them than the flower buds. Tu'urúkku"<sup>u</sup>, tcim 'uθrīhahe'eč, there is a bud on it, it is going to blossom. Tu'urúkku"<sup>u</sup>, tu'úhicha', there are young seed pods on it, it is going to seed. The noun for bud is simply 'úru, round thing, although this usage is rare and restricted to a very limited setting of other words. See the sentence given under "Phases of Flowering." 'Urúkku' also can be used as a noun, better with more narrowly

Tobacco flowers are long necked, they are long flowers. The tobacco flowers are like somebody looking at you.

The tobacco has pretty flowers, white ones. They are strong smelling ones.

The people's tobacco flowers are not as white as the river tobacco flowers. The people's tobacco flowers are not very white.

defining prepounds: '*iθriha'urúkku*;<sub>2</sub> tanimmâ, I see a flower bud; '*uhic'urúkku*;<sub>2</sub> tanimmâ, I see a budding out seed pod. Tobacco flower bud is '*ihē·rahe·θriha'urúkku*', tobacco bud is '*ihē·raha'u-rúkku*'.

Another way of referring to some buds is to call them '*axvā*<sup>a</sup>', head, the same term that is sometimes applied to anther and stigma. The bud at the top of a wild sunflower stalk at the stage when it is picked for greens is called *muxvā*<sup>a</sup>, its head, or '*imk'anvá·xvā*<sup>a</sup>', wild sunflower head. The wild sunflower buds are broken off and thrown away as the stalks are gathered, "they won't pack them into the house." '*To·xvā·ha*', it has a bud, lit. a head. This term is used of buds surmounting a stalk, which look like a head, but can not be applied to tobacco buds.

One also says of a bud *va;ká:n po·θrihahe'e*c, where it is going to flower.

Flower stem is called '*iθrihássū*<sup>uf</sup>', flower fish backbone. '*Ihē·rahé·θrihássū*<sup>uf</sup>', tobacco flower stem.

Flower stem and also flower branch can also be spoken of as '*iθrihá·pti*<sup>ik</sup>', flower branch.

Of the calyx or base of the flower may be said '*iθriha'áffiv*', dim. '*iteniha'áffivitc*', flower base, but more naturally might be said of it: *Va;ká:n po'úhiche'e*c, *pe·teniha'áffivitc*, that is where the seed will be, at the baselet of the flower.

Sepals may be called '*iθrihe·oxúppař*', flower cover. The sentence, the flower has its cover on yet, was rendered by: *Yá:n vúr 'u'úttù·tríhvùt'*, it is about to burst.

There is no standard word for petal. A natural way to speak of a petal is *yíθθ 'iθrihahé·cvíř*, a piece of a flower. One old Indian volunteered of the petals of a flower merely: '*Itró pamutcántcá·fkunicitcas 'uvé·hcíru*'<sup>34</sup> it has 5 white ones sticking out. Cp. similar expressions for stamens and pistil. Of the 5 lobes of the gamopetalous corolla of the tobacco these same verbs are used (see p. 57): '*Iθrihapířic*, or '*iθrihássá*<sup>a</sup>n, both meaning flower leaf, would not be likely to be applied to the petal, but would convey rather the idea of a leaf associated with a flower, or of the leaf of a flowering plant.

Of stamens and pistil nothing would be likely to be said further than such expressions as the following: '*Á·tcip 'utníccukti*' or '*á·tcip 'uhýáriccuk*', they are sticking out in the middle. *Va;ká:n po'úhiche'e*c *kó·vúr e·θriha'á·tcip 'uvé·hníccukvařc*, they are sticking out in the middle of every flower where the seeds are going to be.

It also does the language no violence to say of stamens '*iθrihá·pmaráxvú*', flower whiskers, '*iθrihá'a*<sup>a</sup>n, flower threads, or even '*iθrihá·mya*<sup>a</sup>t, flower hairs. Corn silk is regularly called *kó·n'ap-*

<sup>34</sup> Or '*uvé·hmúti*'

maráxvu', corn whiskers, and of fuzziness or hairs on a plant resembling body hairs one may say 'imyā·t, body-hair, or 'úmyā·thiti', it has body-hairs, the latter ones having been volunteered of the hairs of the plant called pufficti'v, meaning deer's ears.

Of knobs on stamens and pistil is said: 'Íppan 'unuhyá·tc 'úkriv-küti', there is a knob, lit. a little round thing, at the top. If it is broken off and handed to a person one might say yáxa pay 'unuhyá·tc, here is a little knob. On other occasions the term 'axvá·a, heads, is pressed into service for anther and stigma. Thus it happens that both of the terms used for flower bud (see pp. 55-56) are also applied to anther and stigma.

Pollen is called 'iərihá·mta'·p, flower dust. It is not called \*'iərihá·xvíθθiñ, flower scurf, or anything but 'ámta'·p, dust.

The following textlet was volunteered after examining carefully stamens and pistil of a tobacco flower:

'Itró·ppakan pakú:k 'uvé·hmúti<sup>35</sup> pamuθríha', karu 'itró·ppakan po·xúvahiti po·ve·heúrō·hiti kumá·á·tcip. Kó·vúra po·xuva-híná·ti va; ká:n 'itcámmahite 'u·fcicpmahiti pamú'a·n. 'Á·vári xas po·'ifcúro·ti'<sup>36</sup>. 'itró·p pat-tí·m po·'ifcúrō·ti su;. Yíθθa<sup>37</sup> 'á·tcip vura po·'ifcíprivti pa·úhic 'u·i·θríak va; ká:n po·'í·fríéuk, 'áxxakan pa·úhic 'u·i·θra su;. 'Áxxak tú·ppiteas 'u·únnukúhi-hate pamu·án·íppañite, kuna vura pa·á·tcip 'í·hyan va; 'u·m vura yítté·patc pamuxvá·a. 'Iərihá·á·tcip 'uvé·hríccukva pamuxvá·a.

The corolla has 5 lobes and 5 sinuses between the lobes. There is a stamen opposite each sinus. They stick off high up, 5 stick off around the sides. And one [the pistil] grows up in the middle, it grows out of the ovary, which has 2 cells. Two little round things [cells] surround each stamen filament, but the middle one [the pistil] has an undivided head. Anthers and stigma are peeking out of the flower.

The common term for honey is picpicihá·af, yellow-jacket excrement, the term for the yellow jacket, picpicci', having been extended to apply to the white man yellow jacket, i. e., the honey bee, and the yellow jacket's food is extended to the honey bee's food. Of the honey in a flower, however, an old Indian volunteered merely: Vúra 'u·m kitc 'ikpíhań, 'ar u·iftakankó·tti', it is just strong tasting, it is sticky. It was stated by the informants that tobacco flowers have 'honey because they know that other flowers have. In this statement they

<sup>35</sup> Or 'uvé·hcúrō·hiti', both mg., it sticks off.

<sup>36</sup> The stamen frees itself from the wall of the corolla approximately halfway up from the base of the corolla.

<sup>37</sup> Not distinguished in name from the stamens.

are correct, although the honey is scant and is secreted at the base of the corolla where access of insects to it is prevented by the slenderness of the tube. 'Ihē·rahe·θrīha 'u:m su? 'upicpicrīh?ā·fhití', tobacco flowers have honey.

*a'. Pahú·t 'ukupe·θrīhahahiti pe·θrīha'.*

(PHASES OF FLOWERING)

Of the phases of flowering may be said:

Púva xay vura 'úruha', it has not budded yet.

Yá:n vur 'u'úruhiti', it is starting in to have buds on it.

Pamu'úru tu'úttutúrlhvá', its buds are bursting to flower.

Tó·θrīhaha', or tó·θrīha', it is blooming.

Kar uθrīhahiti', it is still blooming.

Tó·vrárasur pamuθrīha', its flowers are falling off.

'Á·pun tó·vrárasur, they are falling to the ground.

Tapúffa:t pamuθrīha', its flowers are all gone.

To·vrarasuráffíp, they have finished falling off already.

*k. Pa'úhič*

(SEED)

'Úhič, seed, is applied to all seeds with the exception of (a) the pits (i. e., single large seeds) of fruits (the native fruits having these being perhaps some 10 in number), pits being called 'as, stone; and (b) large edible seeds of the kind classed as nuts and acorns, also borne by perhaps some 10 species of plant, to such nuts the term xuntáppaň, which is usually translated as unshelled acorn, being applied.

The cut-off tops of the tobacco plants, containing seed capsules with seeds in them, kept hung up in the living house for sowing in the spring (see pp. 89-91) are always called 'ihē·raha'úhič, tobacco seeds, or 'ihē·raha'uhicíkyáv, tobacco seeds that they are fixing, although the tops include much more than the seeds.

Pit is called as in English usage 'as, stone. Native pitted fruits and the compounded forms designating their pits may be listed in part as follows:

Pú·n, wild cherry; pún?as, wild cherry pit.

Púraf, a kind of blue-colored berry, also called 'axθáypu"un, ground-squirrel's wild cherry; puráf?as, 'axθaypún?as.

Fa'əθ, manzanita; fáθ?as.

'Apúnfa'əθ, ground manzanita; 'apunfáθ?as.

Faθ?úruhsá', manzanita sp.; faθ?uruhsá'as.

Pahá·v, black manzanita; paháv?as.

In imitation of these and helped along by the English usage so also:  
 Pí'caś, peach; pitcás'as, peach stone.

'Árikots, apricot; 'aprikóts'as, apricot pit.

More than half the varieties of nuts for which the Karuk have names are acorns. Beyond acorns, there are only hazelnuts, chinquapin nuts, and pepper nuts. Xuntáppań is applied to unshelled acorn of all species of oak and to these three other species of nuts. Xúric is applied to shelled acorn of any oak species, with or without xuntáppań compounded before it, but when applied to shelled nuts which are not acorns the tendency would be to always compound xuntáppań before it: thus, e. g., xunyavxúric or xunyavxuntapanxúric, shelled tanoak acorn; but 'aθiθxuntapanxúric (never 'aθiθxúric), shelled hazelnut. Passing over the subject of acorn designations, which involves considerable terminology, we list the other species of nuts and their forms with xuntáppań postpounded:

Hazel is distinguished by two sets of designations, one derived from su"n, hazelnut, the other from 'aθiθ'iθ, hazel withe. Thus hazel bush is called either sírip (sur-, nondiminutive prepound form of su"n, here preserved; -ip, tree), or 'aθiθíppa' ('ippa', tree). \*sunxuntáppań is never used, but 'aθiθxuntáppań is common for hazelnut.

Sunyíθe'i', chinquapin nut, app. thorny hazelnut (sun-, hazel nut; yíθe'i', probably connected with yáθθa', sharp pointed); sunyíθih-xuntáppań, chinquapin nut.

Pá'h, pepper nut; pahxuntáppań, pepper nut. When pepper nuts get old and wilted inside, tó'sú'nha', they are hazel-nutting, they are turning like hazel nuts, is said of them. Hazelnuts are usually dry and partly empty inside, hence the expression.

'Ihē'raha'íhič, tobacco seed.

'Úchica', to go to seed.

Of tobacco seeds is said:

Tú'ppítcásítc pa'úhič.<sup>38</sup> 'Ikkánnamkunicitcas pa'úhič. Ká·kum pu'ikxáramkunichiruravsahaŕa, ká·kum kunic 'ámtá·pkunicaš.

'Uhipihíppanite tu'urúkku" va; ká·n po'úhiche;c su?. Xas to'kké·citcasha', pa'uhipcú·vichitcas.<sup>39</sup> Karixas tuváxra', pató·mtup. Karixas taxánnahicite tumátxá·xvà<sup>40</sup> pa'assipitc. Va; vura pa'úhic tuθāh·sha', patumatnússaha'sk.

The seeds are very small. The seeds are little black ones. Some of them are not so black, some of them are gray.

<sup>38</sup> The seeds of *Nicotiana* are very small, few seeds being smaller. They are little developed when shed.

<sup>39</sup> Or pa'uhipcú·vič, the seed bags, or pa'uhic'ássipitc, the little seed baskets, or pa'uhícvá·ssič, the little seed blankets.

<sup>40</sup> Or tumatnusútnus.

At the top of the tobacco stems they swell out round ones [the seed capsules] where the seed are going to be inside. Then they get bigger, the little seed capsules. Then they get dry, when they get ripe. Then after a while the seed capsules burst. Then the seeds scatter all around, when they burst.

There are three expressions for seed capsule:

'Uhícvā<sup>a</sup>s, seed capsule, lit. seed blanket.<sup>41</sup> Dim. 'Uhícvā<sup>a</sup>ssitc.

'Uhicpū<sup>v</sup>ic, seed capsule, lit. seed bag. Dim. 'uhicpū<sup>v</sup>ichitc.<sup>42</sup>  
'Upū<sup>v</sup>ichitchina<sup>t</sup>i patu'úhicha<sup>a</sup>k, it has little bags when it goes to seed.

'Uhic'ássipi<sup>c</sup>, seed capsule, lit. little seed basket ('ássi<sup>p</sup>, bowl basket).

Of two seed capsules grown together resulting from coalescence of flowers is said: 'Áxxak 'uhícvā<sup>a</sup>s 'upík<sup>t</sup>cūskāhiti', two seed capsules are bunched together.

Pa'uhicpū<sup>v</sup>icitcas su<sup>?</sup> 'axák-ya<sup>n</sup> po'í·θra yiθθukánva pa'úhič, hā·ri kuyráka<sup>n</sup> po'í·θra yiθθukánva pa'úhič.<sup>42a</sup> Pato'mtupá-yā·tcha<sup>a</sup>k, kar umátxā·xvūti' pa'uhic su<sup>?</sup> uθáθr·inné·rak, pa'úhic 'á·pun tó·vrařic.

Patcimikun'úhθā·mhe·caha<sup>a</sup>k, 'íppankam 'úknī·vkūtihate tinih-yā<sup>a</sup>tc, va<sup>;</sup> takunícví·t.cur, karix-as va<sup>;</sup> pa'úhic tí·k'an, tóyvā·yricuk, karixas takunmútpi·θva'.

Inside the seed capsules the seeds are inside in two different cells, rarely in three different cells.<sup>42a</sup> When they get good and ripe, the seed capsules burst, the seeds fall to the ground.

When they are going to sow them, there is a flat thing on top [of the seed capsule], they pull that off [with the finger], then the seeds spill out onto the hand, then they scatter them.

#### a'. 'Uxrāh'ávaha'

##### (FRUIT)

Any kind of berry is called 'uxrā·h, but this word can not be applied to pitted fruits, for which there is no general name, each being called by its own special name. Thus the huckleberry is 'uxrā·h, but the manzanita berry, with its pit, is to the Indians not a berry.

The diminutive of 'uxrā·h, 'uxnáhi<sup>c</sup>, has taken on the special meaning of strawberry. To express little berry one must say

<sup>41</sup> Cp. mahyanávā<sup>a</sup>s, paunch or rumen of the deer, lit. stuffed blanket.

<sup>42</sup> Even in talking English a Karuk will say of seed capsules, e. g.: It was just hanging like little sacks all over.

<sup>42a</sup> See List of Illustrations, Pl. 9, exceptional three-valved specimen of *N. bigelovii* var. *exaltata*.

'uxnáh'anammahačc. The compound 'uxrah'ávaha', lit. berry food, used originally of a class of Indian food (see p. 62), is now used to cover all kinds of White man fruit, as a translation of "fruit." The tobacco having no fruit or berry does not employ the above words in its terminology.

I. Pahú't 'ukupa'íkk'yùrúprava-hiti'.

GERMINATION

'Á·pun 'úvraricerihti pamu'úhič. Páyux 'ávahkam tu'ó·ntapí-críhvà pa'úhič. Xas va; taxán-nahicite patupáθri'hk'yaha'ak, karix'ás va; tusaksúru; pa'úhič.

Há·ri pu'íftihap kó·vúra pa'úhič. Va; kunipítti': "Há·ri kák-kum 'uxá·tti pa'úhič."

Tú·ppitcas pamusaksúru", tcántcāfkúníčas, 'íffuni vúra xá;s kó;samítcas. Patu'íkk'yùrúpràv va; vura 'íppan pa'úhič 'uknúpti'hvàčc. Xas 'áxxa kitc vura pamuppíric papiccítc tu'íkk'yùrúpràv.

Té·mya;tc 'u'í·fti patu'íffa-ha'ak, taxánnahicite vura tavá·-ramás.

Its seeds fall on the ground. The dirt gets over them. Then after a while, when it gets rained on, the seed sprouts.

Sometimes all the seeds do not grow up. They say sometimes some of the seeds get rotten.

Its sprouts are small, white ones, pretty near the size of a hair. Whenever it is just peeping out, its seed is on top of it. Then they just have 2 leaves, when they first peep out of the ground.

They grow quickly when they grow, in a little while they are tall ones.

6. Payiθúva kuma'ippa'

(CLASSIFICATION OF PLANTS)

'Íppa', tree. Also any plant, when the plant name is prepounded, thus 'ihé·raha'íppa', tobacco plant; mu'tmut'íppa', buttercup plant.

Píric, primarily leaf, foliage, is used of any kind of plant, grass, or bush, with exception of trees. When applied to trees it is understood to refer to their foliage. From its application to verdure is derived pírick'yúníč, green.

'Ataturá·n'nar, or 'atatura·narappíric, vine.

'Imk'yá·n'va, greens of any kind.

'Asaxxé'm, moss or lichen of many kinds.

Xayvíc, applied to many kinds of mushroom.

Tobacco is classed as píric, although it is called by its specific name, 'ihé·raha', and píric is rarely applied. The compound 'ihé·rahappíric means tobacco leaves, or when applied to the plant is suggestive of contempt. Uncompounded 'íppa' can never be applied to tobacco, but 'ihé·raha'íppa' is the common word for tobacco plant and is sometimes used for 'uhíppi', tobacco stalk.

## 7. Payiθúva kuma'ávaha'

## (CLASSIFICATION OF FOODS)

Food is classed as follows:

'Arara('a)vahécip̄, lit. best food, applied to salmon and acorn soup, regarded as the best food for Indians.

Mâ·kam kú:k va'ávaha', lit. upslope food, applied to the meat of mammals and birds.

'A's va'ávaha', lit. water food, applied to all kinds of fish.

'Imky'anva'ávaha', lit. greens food, applied to greens of all kinds.

Piric?ávaha', lit. brush food, applied to all kinds of pinole.

'Uxrah?ávaha', lit. berry food, applied to all kinds of pitless berries and to White man fruit.

Tobacco is not classed as food. Neither is it classed as 'án'nav, medicine. It is regarded as sui generis in Indian life.

#### IV. Pahú·t pakunkupá'í:fmaθahitihanik pa'ipahahtunvé'etc

(KARUK AGRICULTURE)

##### 1. Va:<sub>v</sub> vura kítc mit pakun?uhθā·mhitiha t pehē·raha'

(THEY SOWED ONLY TOBACCO)

The Karuk were acquainted with all the processes of agriculture. Although they raised only tobacco, they (1) fertilized for it, (2) sowed it, (3) weeded it, (4) harvested, cured, stored and sold it. They did not till it, and their nearest approach to a knowledge of tillage was (1) that weeding was advantageous, and (2) that the breaking of the ground when digging cacomites made tiny cacomites which were in the ground come up better.

For tobacco being the only cultivated plant, see the statements by Gibbs, page 14, and by Chase, page 22.

For early mention by Douglas of the fertilization of tobacco plots of certain Columbia River Indians by burning dead wood, apparently referring to setting fire to brush and logs preparatory to tobacco sowing, see p. 21.

##### 2. Pahú·t mit pakunkupa'ahíc·hvahitiha t

HOW THEY USED TO SET FIRE TO  
THE BRUSH

Pánu:<sub>v</sub> kuma'árā·rás 'u:<sub>m</sub>kun mit vura pupiýúro·ravutihaphat', pumit 'ikyútrí·htihaphat', pufá·t vura mit 'uhθá·mhitiha t, va:<sub>v</sub> vura kitc 'ihé·raha'. Va:<sub>v</sub> mit vura kitc kunkupítihatihakakun?ahíc·rihvútiha t papirícri:k yiθθukun-né:k, yakúnva 'u:<sub>m</sub> yé·pc 'u'i·fti pako'kfá·ttcas.

Va:<sub>v</sub> 'u:<sub>m</sub> yé·pc 'u'i·fti pappú·fiθ, 'irámxit', kuníppé·nti 'irámxit'.<sup>1</sup> Karu passúrip, passárip kumá'i:i takun?á·hkaha'k, 'axak-hárinay<sup>2</sup> xas künctú·kti', va:<sub>v</sub> 'u:<sub>m</sub> yé·pc', saripyé·pc', tusak-

Our kind of people never used to plow, they never used to grub up the ground, they never used to sow anything, except tobacco. All that they used to do was to burn the brush at various places, so that some good things will grow up.

That way the huckleberry bushes grow up good, the young huckleberry bushes, they call them 'irámxit'. And the hazel bushes, when they burn them off for hazel sticks, they pick them

<sup>1</sup> Any kind of a young berry bush.

<sup>2</sup> They burn the hazel brush in summer and cut the "sticks" the second summer afterwards.

nivháyā·tchà'. Karu papanyúrar va; ká:n kun'ahicri·hvuti', yán-tei·pk'äm xas kun'ictu·kti ku-mapímna'n'ni, 'ahvarákkü'sra',<sup>3</sup> kári papanyúrar kun'ictu·kti'.

Pe·kravapuh'íppa káru pata-kun'ahku", yakúnva 'u:m yé·pc 'u'i·fti pe·krávappu'. Máhninay yí·v kun'ahicri·hvuti'.

Háti xunyé·pri;k karu kun'ahicri·hvuti', xay piríci;k pa-kun'íffike;c paxuntáppań. Pu-xútihap kir u'i·nk'a puxwítc, kun-xuti xáy 'u'i;n pa'íppa'.

Karu háti va; mit k'yá:n kun'ahicri·hvútihát pi'ë'ep, tam-yúr mit kunikyá·ttihá, páttá;y takunmáha:k 'á·pun paxuntáp-pań, xunyé·pri;k, kun'ahicri·hvútihát mit. Vúra 'u:m pu-'ahicri·htánmá·htihap. Fá;t xás vúra kumá'i'i kun'ahicri·hvuti'.

Karu paká:n pe·hē·raha kun'úhθa'mhe'e;c, va; káru kun'ahicri·hvuti'. Va; 'u:m pavura yá-kícci'p paká:n 'ík'yukáttay, va; 'u:m ta;y 'ámta'ap, pe·k'yukáttay tu'ink'yáha'k va; 'u:m ta;y pa'ámta'ap 'á·pun. Va; 'u:m yáv 'á·pun pa'ámta'ap, iθarip'íkyuka'-i·nk'yúram, va; 'u:m 'axváhahar po'í·nk'yúti'.

Pimná·ni pakun'ahicri·hvuti' papiríci;k, pe·vaxrahári; kári, va; kari payá;kpa'ahicri·hva, pic-yávpí;c kari papúvapaθri'. Pa-'araramá·kkámnninay pakun'ahicri·hvuti'.

two years, then they are good, good hazel sticks, they get so hard. And the bear lilies also they burn off, they pick them the next summer, in July; that is the time that they pick the bear lily.

And the wild rice plants also they burn, so that the wild rice will grow up good. They burn it far up on the mountains.

And sometimes they also burn where the tan oak trees are, lest it be brushy where they pick up acorns. They do not want it to burn too hard, they fear that the oak trees might burn.

And sometimes they used to set fire there long ago where they saw lots of acorns on the ground, in a tanbark oak grove, they made roasted unshelled acorns. They do not set the fire for nothing, it is for something that they set the fire for.

And where they are going to sow tobacco, too, they burn it, too. It is the best place if there are lots of logs there, for there are lots of ashes; where lots of logs burned there are lots of ashes. Ashes are good on the ground, where fir logs have burned, where pitchy stuff has burned.

It is in summer when they set fire to the brush, at the time when everything is dry, that is the time that is good to set fire, in the fall before it starts in to rain. At different places up back of the people's rancherias they set the fires.

<sup>3</sup> They burn the bear lilies in summer and gather the grass stalks the second summer afterwards.

Vúra 'ihé:raha kítc 'úhθā:mhítì-hàník. Píccí:p va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n takun-páhic máruk, pimná:n'ni, pimná:n'i k'yá:n takun-páhic, 'íkk'yúk takun-páhku'<sup>u</sup>. Pukú:sra tó:ntiháp pakun-páhkó:tí'. Hárivurava vúra pakun-páhkó:tí', pimná:n'ni. Pavura máruk kunifyúkkuti', papiccf:tc takúnma yá:k 'ihera-ho:θamhífam, payá:k tákunma, va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n takun-páhku:<sub>a</sub> pé:kk'yúk.

Karu va:<sub>a</sub> kari patapasíápsun pamáruk takun-páyi:hra'<sup>a</sup>, kun-píptti va:<sub>a</sub> karu vura kumá:i'i pakun-páhícríhvutiháñik, pa'ápsun va:<sub>a</sub> kunkupé:kk'yárahitihañik.

Ká:kum pakuma'íppa va:<sub>a</sub> kari yé:pca patamit 'u'í:nk'yaha'<sup>a</sup>k, va:<sub>a</sub> kari yé:pca tó:ppif. Kuna vura ka:kum pakuma'íppa patu'í:nk'yaha'<sup>a</sup>k, vúrà tákó:, pukúkkum va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n yiθ 'í:ftihára.<sup>4</sup> Pafáθ-θí:p vura pupí:ftihára yiθ, patu'í:nk'yaha'<sup>a</sup>k, pataxxára va'íppa va:<sub>a</sub> 'u:m yí:v yé:pc u'i:fti káru. Xunyé:p karu puyávhára, patu'í:nk'yaha'<sup>a</sup>k, va:<sub>a</sub> vura tu'iv pa'íppa'. Patakun-páhícríhvutihá:k, kunxúti xáy 'u'í:n pa'íppa'.

3. Vura ník mit va:<sub>a</sub> kun-pá:pun-mutihat pa'úhic u'íffe'<sup>e</sup>c.

Nu:<sub>a</sub> vúra pakuma'ára:ras vura pufá:t 'úhic 'ípcárùktihapháñik, xa:t máruk kunifyúkkutihañik. Kuna vura va:<sub>a</sub> kun-pá:punmutihanik pa'ára'<sup>a</sup>r, ho:y vúrava pa'úhic po:kyívlerihá:k, va:<sub>a</sub> vúra 'íkki:tc 'u'íffe'<sup>e</sup>c, kun-pá:punmutihanik vúra va'<sup>a</sup>. Kun-pá:punmutihanik vura nik pa'úhic nik vura kunsánpi:θutihani pakó:k-fá:t'tcas.

Tobacco was all that one used to sow. First they set fire upslope, in the summertime, in the summertime they set fire there; they set fire to logs. They do not go by the moon when they burn it. They burn it any time, in the summer. When walking around upslope first they see a good place to plant a tobacco garden; when they see a good place, they burn the logs.

Then too the rattlesnakes go upslope; they say that that also is what they set fire for, to kill snakes that way.

Some kinds of trees are better when it is burned off; they come up better ones again. But some kinds of trees when it is burned off disappear, another never comes up again. The manzanita, another one does not come up, when it is burned off. An old tree bears way better, too. And the tan oak is not good when it is burned off, the tree dies. When they are burning, they are careful lest the trees burn.

(THEY KNEW THAT SEEDS WILL GROW)

Our kind of people never used to pack seed home, I do not care if they had been going around upslope. But the people knew, that if a seed drops any place, it will maybe grow up; they knew that way. They knew that seeds are packed around in various ways.

<sup>4</sup> Or pí:ftihára.

Há·ti 'axmáyik vura fátták  
tákunma va; vura ttay páta-  
yí·θ, xas su? patakun?ú·pvakuri.  
Yané·kva víra 'u:m tå:y sù?.  
Há·ti va; ká:n vura muppí·matc  
tákunma 'akθiptunve'tciváxra'  
'á·pun 'iθivθané·nsúruk. Få:t va;  
vúra va; páva; kupíttihá:n, man  
?at axrás. Vura få:tvava víra  
páva; kupíttihá:n, su? 'iθivθané·n-  
súruk usanpí·θvúti'.

### A. 'Aíkré·npíkva

Pikváhahirak karu vura vo·kúp-  
ha·nik 'Axrás, va; kári karu  
vura vo·kúpha·n'nik, kari kar  
Ikkaré·yavha·nik, 'ú·pva'amáyav  
'usáráθθúnátihá:nik, 'usáráθθúnátihá:nik.  
'A'íkré'n 'u:m Tierá·m  
'usá·nsípré·ník pa'ú·pva'amáyav,  
múteas'upíkyé·ha·nik. 'Úppé·n-  
tíhá:nik pamúttca's: "Xáy fa:t  
'ík 'umma pe'ámti pananíhró·ha,  
pa'ú·pva'amáyav, xáy fa:t 'ík  
'úmmá pe'ámti'. Virí va; ku-  
má'i'i pammáruk xás 'u:a·mtíhá-  
ník, márùk xás, 'Axrás. Va; vur  
u'ifeí·prinatihá:nik, pakó·kkáninay  
'uvúrayyútihá:nik, va; vura ká:n  
kite pa'u·pva'amáyavhiti', paká:n  
'uvúrayyutihá:nik.

Karu páttá's, 'Iccipicerihamá·m  
kite 'uta·shíti'. Va; vura ka:n  
kite 'u'íppanhí·ti', yú·mvánnihite  
'u:m víra purafátták. Ka?tim-  
ří·nk'yam 'u:m vura púffa:t 'iθyá-  
rùkkirùkám. Kúna víra 'u:m  
'apapásti:p kite po·tå:shíti', ko·k-  
káninay vura kuma'araramá·k-  
kam. Karukkúkam 'u:m teavú-  
ra yí·v, teavúra hó:y váriva  
vura, 'Iccipicerihakam kú·kkam  
kite.

Sometimes they see at some  
place a lot of Indian potatoes,  
and then they dig in under. Be-  
hold there are lots underneath.  
Sometimes nearby there they see  
lots of wild oat straw under the  
ground. It is something that is  
doing that, maybe a gopher.  
Something is doing that, is pack-  
ing it around down under the  
ground.

### (THE STORY ABOUT SUGARLOAF BIRD)

And in the myths Gopher did  
that same thing; he did it already  
when he was an Ikkareyav yet,  
he packed 'ú·pva'amáyav [tubers]  
around; he packed them around.  
'A'íkré'en brought them in from  
Scott Valley, he brought some  
in for his younger brother. He  
said to his younger brother:  
"Do not let my wife see you  
when you are eating the 'ú·pva-  
'amáyav, do not let her see you  
eating them." And that is why  
he used to eat it upslope, upslope  
then, Gopher. It came up, every  
place he went; those were the  
only places where there was  
'ú·pva'amáyav, the places where  
he went.

And the soaproot, only up-  
slope of Ishipishrihak is there  
soaproot. That is as far as it  
goes, there is none just a little  
downstream [of Ishipishrihak]. On  
the Katimin side there is  
none, on the other side of the  
river. Only on one side of the  
river there is soaproot, along  
every place upslope of the ran-  
cherias. Upriverward it just runs  
far, I do not know to where, only  
on the Ishipishrihak side.

B. 'Iθyarukpihrivpíkva, pahū't 'ukúphā'n'nik, kárruk 'unð-vañik, pa'á·pun uvyíhiceríh-tihanik pamusarah̥iyútyut

(THE STORY ABOUT ACROSS-WATER WIDOWER, HOW HE WENT UP-RIVER DROPPING ACORN BREAD CRUMBS)

'Iθyarukpihri;v 'u:m vo·xús-sā'n'nik: "Hō'y if pátte;c tc nip kē·vicihe'e;c. Tcímí va; vura pe·cké;c kan'āhò'kkin. Karuma kunipítti ta;y takunífcip. Pe-k-xariya·fáppi·ttca kárruk. Få;t ata xákka:n panupké·vicihe'e;c. Tcímí kyan'áhu'u. Tcímí kyan'áppivan.<sup>5</sup> Káruma na; kár Ilxaré·ya.v." 'Uøíttimti vúra, páva; kunipítti', pakó·kaninay tícra·m 'utá·yhití', viri va; vura kunipítti 'axyaráva patícrá;m pa'ifappi·ttcà'.

Ta'íttam va; kitc 'upicvíttu-nihe:n pamuvíkk'apu'.<sup>6</sup> Sára kitc 'uðá·nnámnihanik pamuvík-k'apuhák, karu pamu'úhra'm. Karixas po'áhö'n'nik. Xas víra vo'áhö'tí', vura vo'árihrä'n'nik. Va; vura kitc uxúti': "Hō'y 'ata panimm'áhe;c patícrá;m." Viri kó·kkáninày vur upú·nvutihanik po'pú·nvaramhina'ti'. Viri k'yo·kk-aninay, po'pú·nvutihanik va; vur ukupa;ifci·prInähítihani-k pa-xunyé;p, pakó·kkaninay pamú-sar u'a·mti', pamusarah̥iyútyut pa'á·pun 'uvyíhiceríhtí'.

Tcavura tayí;v u'ú·m. 'Ax-may vura xas 'utvå·v'nuk, Xé·paníppa;n.<sup>7</sup> Viri pakkárruk 'utrðøvüti'. Yánava vo'kupítti',<sup>8</sup>

Across-water Widower thought: "I do not want to be transformed alone. Let me travel along the river. They say there are many Ilxareyav girls being raised upriver. I wonder whom I am going to be transformed along with. Let me go. Let me look for them. I am an Ilxareyav, too." He had heard said that there were flats scattered all over, and that those flats were full of girls.

He just took down his basketry quiver. He put nothing but acorn bread and his pipe into his basketry quiver. Then he traveled. He was traveling along, he was walking upriver. All he was thinking was: "I wonder where the flats are." He rested everywhere at the people's resting places. Everywhere he rested, Tan Oaks came up from it, wherever he ate his acorn bread, wherever the crumbs of his acorn bread fell on the ground.

Then he was far along. Then all at once, at Xepanippa, he looked over. He looked upriver direction. Behold they were dig-

<sup>5</sup> For the Ilxareyav maidens that he has heard of.

<sup>6</sup> From where it was hanging up or tucked in.

<sup>7</sup> Place on the old trail, upslope of Camp Creek. Patcvanayvatc-lahít am, a New Year ceremony fireplace, is downriverward from this place.

<sup>8</sup> Or: va; kunkupítti'. Both s. and the more grammatical dpl. are used in this construction.

'apxantahko'sammúrax pakun-  
?ú'pvana.ti'. Karixás ûxxùs: "Na;  
kár Iksaré'ya. Tcimi k'animm'ússañ." Uxxus: "Ka-  
ruma va; Papanamnihtícra'am." Karixás kú;k'u'ú'm  
pakun?ú'pvana.tihírák. Karixás á'tcip<sup>9</sup> kú;k'u'ú'm,  
as ká:n 'u'ú'm. Xas 'á'pun 'uθθáric pamuvíkk'yapu'.  
Karixás uxxus: "Tcimi 'á'tcip k'anikrí'crihi'." Xas xákkarar  
'upakávnú'kvánà'<sup>10</sup> pa'ifáppi't-tcà'. Karixás kunpí:p: "Hé",  
tanuví'ha'. Hó:y 'Ikxaré'yav teaká'haha tu'aramsí'p?" Xas  
yíøø upí:p: "Hé", tanutcákkaý." Karixás taxánnahite karixás ux-  
xus: "Tcimi k'an?áhu". Puya 'if takanatcákay." Karixás  
'u'áhó'n'ník. Vúra vo'áhó'ti'.

Karixás vo'kupítti po'áhó'ti',  
pakó'kkinaninay 'upú'nvaramhiti',  
viri va; kó'kkáninày vura 'ukrf'c-  
rihti'. Mé'kva pamu'úhra:m  
tu'é·θricùk, karixás tuhé'r. Karixás  
pamu'ámkinvá kúna tu'é·θ-  
ricùk. Sára pamu'ámkí'nvà-  
hàník. Vura vo'kupítti po'á-  
hó'ti', va; vura kitc ukùpítti  
pakó'kkinaninay 'upú'nváramhiti  
kó'kkáninay vùr uhé'ratí'. Karu  
pamussára tû'áv. Va; vur ukupítti',  
'ukupa'ifcí'prinahiti paxunyé'p.  
Viri po'θivicrí'hvuti  
passára po'á'mti', víri va; ukupá'  
ifcí'prinahiti paxunyé'p, va;  
pakunipítti', paxunyé'p. Yi-  
vúra yuruk karivári ttay pa-

ging, all of them with new hats on.  
Then he thought: "I am an  
Ikxareyav, too. Let me go and  
see them." He thought: "That  
is the Orleans Flat." Then he  
walked over toward where they  
were digging [roots]. Then he  
went to the midst of them. Then  
he got there. Then he laid his  
basketry quiver on the ground.  
Then he thought: "Let me sit  
down in the midst of them." Then  
he put his arms around the  
girls on both sides of him. Then  
they said: "Ugh, we do not like  
you. Where did this so nasty  
Ikxareyav come from?" Then  
one of them said: "Ugh, we  
think you are nasty." Then  
after a while he thought: "I  
would better travel. They think  
I am so nasty." Then he traveled  
again. He was traveling.

He was doing that way, traveling;  
at all the resting places  
everywhere he would sit down.  
Then he would always take out  
his pipe and smoke. And he  
would take out his lunch, too.  
It was acorn bread, his lunch.  
He did that way when he was  
traveling, all that he did was to  
smoke at all the resting places.  
And he would eat his acorn bread.  
And it was that Tan Oak trees  
came up. When the bread  
dropped in little pieces as he ate,  
Tan Oak trees came up, that is  
what they say, Tan Oak. There  
are still lots of Tan Oak trees  
way downriver. Across-water

<sup>9</sup> Of the girls who were strung out standing and sitting as they were engaged in digging roots.

<sup>10</sup> As he sat down between two girls.

xunyé'p. Vura 'u:m kárim uxúti po'ahó:tí 'Iθyarukpíhri<sup>11</sup>. Po'ahó:tí' va:vur uxúti: "Vúra puká:n na'ípaho·vicaá. Tamit kanatcákka'nt." Va:múrax vúr uxúti: "Vura puká:n na'íp 'ahó:vicárá, Papanamnití-cra<sup>12</sup>m, panipnú:ppaha'a:k." Vur utó:xvi.phà'. Va:vúpá:n'ník 'Iθyarukpíhri<sup>13</sup>v: 'Panamnih'asik-tává:nsá vura 'araratcakáyá:nsáhe'e:c, payásár u'i:nnícri-ha:a:k."<sup>14</sup> Va:vunkukú:pha piéftc pakunmah, kó:vúra 'úpas kunyuh-súru"<sup>15</sup>, kó:va kunteákka:y.

Xas 'uθittí:mtí 'Aθiθuftícrá:m<sup>13</sup> kárutta:y pa:ifáppi:tteá'. Viri va:vá:ká:n po:vá:ramuti'. "Xá:tik va:vá:kuna ká:n kanatcákka:y." Teavura tayí:v 'u:ú:m. Kúku:m va:vá:ká:n vo:kú:pha', kúku:m va:vá:ká:n vo:kú:pha', 'ax-máy vura xas 'utvá:vnu:k.<sup>14</sup> Yánava súrukam kunic 'uθrí:kva patícrá:m. Va:vámúrax uxxtí': "Na:vá:kár Ikkxaré:ya:y." Kárixas kú:k u:ú:m. Karixás uxus: "Káruma tání:ú:m Pa:aθiθuf-tícrá:m." Yánava vura 'áxyárapa:ifáppi:tta'. Karixás úxxús: "Tcimi k'yú:k kán:lú:m'mí." Kárixas kú:k u:ú:m. Yá:n yí:mmúsítc 'u:úmmúti'. Táma kó:vúra 'í:n kunímm'yú:sti'. Yíθ-θumas upítí': "Na:vá:u:m nani'-ávanhe'e:c." Xás uxus: "Na:vá:hínupa kítc 'Ikkxaré:ya:y."<sup>15</sup> Xas

Widower felt bad when he was traveling. As he was traveling along that was all that he was thinking: "I am not going to pass through there. They thought me nasty." All he was thinking was: "I am not going to pass through Orleans Flat, when I go back downriver." He was mad. That is what Across-water Widower said: "Orleans women always will be thinking that anyone is nasty, whenever Human comes to live there." They did that way, spit, they thought he was so nasty.

Then he heard that also at Aθiθuftícrá:m there were lots of girls. Then he was heading for that place. "Let's see if they think I am nasty again." Then he got far. He did that same way again, did that same way again, all at once looked over. Behold it looked as if there was a flat right under him down-slope. He just thought: "I am an Ikkxareyav, too." Then he walked toward there. Then he thought: "I have reached Aθiθuftícrá:m." Behold it was full of girls. He thought: "Let me go over there." Then he went there. He walked on a little way. They all looked at him. Each said in turn: "He will be my husband." Then he thought: "Behold I am the only

<sup>11</sup> Orleans and Redcap girls had the reputation of being proud, rejecting even rich suitors from other parts.

<sup>12</sup> Just spit saliva out on the ground in disgust, as he sat there between them.

<sup>13</sup> The flat at Doctor Henry's place at Happy Camp.

<sup>14</sup> As he had done on reaching Orleans Flat.

<sup>15</sup> Referring to his sudden seeming good luck.

ká:n 'ukríf·c. Yí:mmúsíte vur uθáric pamuvíkk'yapu'. Teavura kúmate<sup>16</sup>te pó'kxáramha', xás va;  
vura ká:n kunikvé·crihvánà'. Hú·tcimi víra po'ínné'<sup>17</sup>c. Teavura xákkarari vura pó'ptúrá'y'-  
vá. Páyk'yukmas upítti': "Na;  
pay 'ó'k ni'ássive'<sup>18</sup>c." <sup>16</sup> Viri  
vo'kú·pha pakunipθimcúru"<sup>19</sup>, pa-  
kun?asicrí·hvánà'. Teavura kú-  
mate<sup>17</sup>te <sup>17</sup> hút va;  
vura tu'ín  
'Iθyarukpíshri'<sup>20</sup>v, kunic tó·kúhá'. Nikík tó·xus kiri níkví·thá'. Va;  
kítc xús 'u'iruvð·ti Panamnih-  
tíca<sup>21</sup>m. Va;  
kítc uxxtí': "Kiri  
nipvá·ram." Ka:n 'u:m yá:n vur  
usúppá·hiti'. Xas 'úpē·nvana':  
"Tánipvá·ram. Na;  
vura nani'ífra:m ni'i·pmé'<sup>22</sup>c." Ta'íttam pamuvíkk'yap upé·ttcip-  
re·he'en, to'pvá·ram. Viri pas-  
sáru kú:k 'upθittí·m'má. Viri  
pakú:k 'upθittí·m'má.<sup>18</sup> Va;  
kite po'xáxaná·tí', pakun?ívunti'.  
"Na;  
vura tanipvá·ram." Kitc  
uxxtí': "Na;  
vura tanipvá·ram." Va;  
kite kunipítti: "'Í·, nanu'ávan  
to'pvá·ram," pakun?ívunti'.

Ta'íttam kúkku:m vura vo'-  
'íppaho·he'en pamitv o'áho'ot.  
Kúkku:m vura varíhu:m u'íppa-  
hu"<sup>23</sup>. Vura hú·tva tu'ín. Vura  
tó·kkúha', po'áhō·tí'.

Teavura yí:v tu'í·pma', yí:v  
tu'í·pma'. Teavura tcim 'u'í·p-

Ixxareyav." Then he sat down  
there. Beside him he laid down  
his basketry quiver. Then in  
the evening, when night came,  
they all stayed there. He did  
not know what to do. Then he  
looked to either side of him.  
They were saying in turn: "I  
am going to sleep here." Then  
they all lay side by side when  
they slept. Then in the night  
Across-water Widower did not  
know what was the matter with  
himself, he felt sick. He tried to  
go to sleep. He just kept think-  
ing of Orleans Flat. He just  
kept thinking: "I want to go  
home." It was nearly getting  
morning there. Then he told  
them: "I am going home. I  
think I will go back to where I  
was raised." Then he picked up  
his basketry quiver, he started  
home. Then he listened in down  
slope direction, listened in that  
direction. They were all crying,  
crying for him. "I am just  
going home." He just thought:  
"I am just going home." They  
were just saying: "Oh, our hus-  
band is going home," as they  
were crying for him.

He went back down by the  
same road by which he had  
traveled [upriver]. He returned  
by the same road. He did not  
know what was the matter. He  
was feeling sick as he walked  
along.

Then he got far back, he got  
far back. Then just before he got

<sup>16</sup> Gesturing at positions near Across-water Widower. They slept right there in the flowery field.

<sup>17</sup> In the early night, after he lay down.

<sup>18</sup> As he was climbing the hill by Doctor Henry's place.

mēc Panamnihticra'm, xas uxus: "Teimi 'ō'k tanikrfcrihi', tcimi k'yanihē'en. 'Ick'i vúra va;ká;n ni'íppahō-vic. Teimi k'yanihē'en." Karixas uhē'r. Xas uxus: "'U:θ vári vura ni'íppahō-vic.<sup>19</sup> Xas po'pihē'ramar, "Tcimi k'anypappahu". Nani 'ifra:m vura ni'ípmē'c." Viri pamā'ka pay ukú'pha'.<sup>20</sup> Yánava vúra va;kun'ū'pvana'ti'. Viri paxánnahicte uhyárihič. Karuma 'ip uxússa'at: "Vura 'icki ni'ípahō-vic." Viri taxánnahicte vura kunic tuyúnyū'nha'. Mu'ávah-kam xas kunic pakun'úvrin-nati', pakunkakúri'hvutí', pakun'ú'pvana'ti'.

back to Orleans Flat, he thought: "Let me sit down here, let me take a smoke. I am going to walk back through there fast. Let me take a smoke." Then he smoked. Then he thought: "I am going to pass around riverward as I go back." Then as he finished smoking, [he said:] "I would better travel. I am going back to where I was raised." Then he looked upslope back of the flat. Behold they were digging. He stopped and stood there for a little while. He had thought: "I am going to walk fast." For a while it was as if he was crazy. It seemed as if it was on top of him when they mounted in the high parts of the song as they sang [root] digging.

*Song by the Orleans maidens*

'I i i i 'a,  
'I· nani'ávan,  
Tó·kpárihruþ,  
'Iθyarukpíhri'<sup>1v</sup>.

'Uxxus: "Na; vúra nani'ifra:m ni'ípmē'c, na; vura pu;mā'ka né·tríppā·tihé·cárà. Táhí-nupa puná'i pmárà." Vura tó·x-ráratí kítc. "Xá·tik nipara-tánmā'hpà," va; vura kítc úxxùs. Karixas 'uparatánmā'hpà'. Pap-píric tu'axaytcákkič.<sup>21</sup> Tu'úm-teú'nkiv.<sup>22</sup> Sá·mvánnihicte xas

*Song by the Orleans maidens*

'I i i i 'a,  
Oh, my husband,  
Is walking downriver,  
Across-water Widower.

He thought: "I am going back to where I was raised, I am not going to look upslope back of the flat. I can not get back home." He was just crying. "Let me turn back," was all he thought. Then he turned back. He grasped the brush. He pulled it out. He fell back downslope. Then

<sup>19</sup> Am going to skirt the flat on its outer or riverward side so as to avoid the supercilious girls.

<sup>20</sup> Viri pamā'k utríppā·ti', looked upslope back of the flat, is omitted, but understood, here.

<sup>21</sup> To keep himself progressing upslope when he felt his sudden weak spell.

<sup>22</sup> He pulled the bushes that he was grasping out by the roots, so strong was the formula of the Orleans girls to make him return to them.

tupikyívic. Karixás uxus: "Na;  
mit vura takanatcákka:t 'ó'ok."  
Ká:n 'u:m yúnnukamitc po:pík-  
fú:krá:a, vura tapu'ahó:tihara ku-  
nic. 'Apsí: karu vura to:mffra-  
hina:a.

Xas ká:n u'ípmá:<sup>23</sup> Vura  
va; kunpakúrihvúti pa:ifáppi-  
te'a. Xás yíθea pámitva 'í:n kunc-  
tákka:a:t, yí:mmúsito yá:n u'íp-  
pahó:tí, tamó:kífú:kkírā:a. Xas  
uppí:p: "Í:, nani'ávan ti'íppa:k.  
Káruma mit na; va; nixússa:a:t:  
'Xá:t hó:y variva 'í'u"um, va;  
vura 'íppake:e:c." Xas 'Iθya-  
rukpihri:v uppí:p: "Tcém, na;  
vura 'í:m xákka:n nupké:vicri-  
he:e:c." Viri 'u:m va; 'Iθyaruk-  
pihri:v 'u:m vo:kúphá:n'nik. Xas  
úpá:n'nik: "Yá:s'ára hinupa vo-  
kuphé:e:c. 'Asiktáva:n tutapkú:p  
paha:a:k, 'uxxussé:c, 'tání'v,  
Yá:s'ára."

#### 4. Kúna víra mit puhári 'úhic 'ipcá:nmútihapha:t

Purafá:t víra káru kuma'úhic  
'uθá:mhítihapha:nik, vura 'ihé:ra-  
ha'úhic kitc kunikyá:ttiháni:k.  
Purafá:t vura karu kuma'úhic  
'í:nnák tá:yhitiháni:k, vur 'ihé:ra-  
ha kitc, 'ihé:raha'úhic vúra kitc.

'Iθíhar karu vura pu'ínnák  
tá:yhitiháni:k. Paxi:ttícas kitc  
'u:mku:n vura tav<sup>24</sup> kuníkyá:ttiháni:k,  
kunví:ktiháni:k pe:θíhar  
'á:nmú:uk, 'aksanváhi:c, kar 'ax-  
pahé:kníki:nate, karu tiv?axnu-  
kuxnúkkhu:c, xas va; yúppin

he thought: "They made out I  
was nasty." As he was walk-  
ing up the hill a little downriver  
[of them], it seemed as if he could  
not walk. His legs were bother-  
ing him, too. Then he went  
back there. The girls were sing-  
ing. Then the one who had  
said that he was nasty, before he  
had gotten back close yet, put her  
arms about him. Then she said:  
"Oh, my husband, you have  
come back. I thought: 'I do  
not care where you go, you will  
come back.'" Then Across-  
water Widower said: "All right,  
we will be transformed together."  
That is what Across-water Wid-  
ower did. Then he said it:  
"Human will do the same. If  
he likes a woman, he will think,  
'I am going to die,' Human  
will."

#### (BUT THEY NEVER PACKED SEEDS HOME)

And they never sowed any  
kind of seeds, they operated only  
with the tobacco seeds. And  
they never had any kind of seeds  
stored in the houses, only the  
tobacco, the tobacco seeds.

And they had no flowers in the  
houses either. Only the children  
used to make a vizor, weaving the  
flowers with string, shooting stars,  
and white lilies, and bluebells,  
and they put it around their fore-  
heads. Flowers also the girls

<sup>23</sup> The formula of the girls was too much for him. He turned and walked back to the Orleans girls.

<sup>24</sup> The stems of the flowers are twined with a single twining of  
string, just as the feather vizor used in the flower dance is made.

takunpú·hkiñ. Pe·θíhar káru kunpaθra·mvúti·hvà<sup>25</sup> paye·ri-páxvú·hsà, 'iθasúppa; kunpaθra·mvúti·hvà', karu ká·kkum 'u·mkun kuntávti·hva yúppiñ. Pu'impú·tctihara 'iθasúpa'. Takunpitcakúva'<sup>a</sup>n, paye·ripáxvú·hsa'.

### 5. Pahú·t pakunkupítthaniñ xá·s vura kunic 'ixáyx'yá·ytihaphaniñ

Va;<sub>x</sub> vura kitc pumitkupítthaphat̄, pumit 'ikxáyx'yá·ytihaphat̄, va;<sub>x</sub> takunpíp: Va;<sub>x</sub> vura pa'am-tápyu;<sub>x</sub> nik yav.

Kuna va;<sub>x</sub> vura ni kun?á·pun-mutihaniñ, pamukunvð·hmü'<sup>u</sup>k<sup>25a</sup> va;<sub>x</sub> ká;n ta;y 'u'ifti', paká;n hitiha;<sub>n</sub> kun?ú·pvutiha;k pata-yí·θ, va;<sub>x</sub> ká;n yá·ntcip ta;y 'u'ifti', paká;n kun?ú·pvutiha';k. Va;<sub>x</sub> kunippítti' pakun?ú·pvuti-ha;k patayí·θ, va;<sub>x</sub> yá·ntci;p kúkkku;<sub>m</sub> tå;y 'u'ifti'. Ta;y tû·ppitcas<sup>26</sup> 'u'ifti su?, va;<sub>x</sub> mup-pí·matcite patayí·θ.

Va;<sub>x</sub> vura ni kun?á·punmuti-hani k'áfu, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> yav pappíric 'ávahkam kuniθyúruθunatiha';k, patakunpúhθä·mpimaraha';k.<sup>27</sup>

Va;<sub>x</sub> vura ni k'áru kun?á·pun-mutihaniñ, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> yav pappíric kunvítrí·ptiha';k. 'Áffe'r takun-vítríp, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> pukúkkku;<sub>m</sub> píftiha;, páva;<sub>x</sub> kunínni'ctiha';k, páyu;<sub>x</sub> 'uxʷéttcítchiti'.

wore as their hair-club wrapping, wearing them as wrapping all day, and some of them wore a vizor on the forehead. It did not get wilted all day. They felt so proud, those girls.

### (PRACTICES BORDERING ON A KNOWLEDGE OF TILLAGE)

The only thing that they did not do was to work the ground. They thought the ashy earth is good enough.

But they knew indeed that where they dig cacomites all the time, with their digging sticks<sup>25a</sup> many of them grow up, the following year many grow up where they dig them. They claim that by digging Indian potatoes, more grow up the next year again. There are tiny ones growing under the ground, close to the Indian potatoes.

They also knew that it was good to drag a bush around on top after sowing.

And they also knew that it is good to pull out the weeds. Root and all they pull them out, so they will not grow up again, and by doing this the ground is made softer.

<sup>25</sup> These clubs come from above the ear at each side of the head and are worn on the front of the shoulders.

<sup>25a</sup> For illustration of vð'oh, digging sticks, see Pl. 11, *a*.

<sup>26</sup> These tiny "potatoes" are called by the special name xavin?áfri".

<sup>27</sup> See p. 9.

6. Va;<sub>2</sub> vura kitc pakunmáhara-  
tihañik Pe'kxaré'yavsa'

(JUST FOLLOWING THE IKXA-  
REYAVS)

Kó·vúra va;<sub>2</sub> kunkupíttihañik, pahút Pe'kxaréyav kunkupít-tihañik, va;<sub>2</sub> kunkupíttí', xas páva;<sub>2</sub> pakun?á·mtihañik Pe'k-xaré'yav, víri va;<sub>2</sub> kitc pakun?á·mti'. Va;<sub>2</sub> kiníppé·rañik: "Vé·k páy kyu'á·mtihé'<sup>ec</sup>." Pa'kxaré-yav 'á·ma kun?á·mtihañik, xú;n kunpáttatihañik, 'á·ma xákka;<sub>n</sub> xú;n. Karu puſíte- c
kun?á·mtihañik.<sup>28</sup> Va;<sub>2</sub> vura pakunfúhi·ctihañik, Pe'kxaré'yav 'axakyá·nīte vura kuníppamtíhañik, va;<sub>2</sub> vura kitc pakunkupíttihañik. Pa'apxantí·tc pakunivýshukanik, xas va;<sub>2</sub> kuníppá;n'nik: "Ké·mic pakun?ámti', ke'mica'ávaha', i-θivθanē·ntaniha'ávaha'." 'Átcíp-han vura va'árá·rás va;<sub>2</sub> kitc papiccf·tc kun?ávanik pa'apxantí·tc'ávaha'. Viri pakunvíctar vura kunvíctař, purá;<sub>n</sub> kuníppé·r: "Vúra 'u;<sub>m</sub> 'amáyav." Xas takunpíp: "Ník'at vúra 'u;<sub>m</sub> pu'i·mtihářa, na;<sub>2</sub> táni'av, passářa. Xas va;<sub>2</sub> kó·vúra papihní·ttcítcas karu paké·vní·kkitcas xára xas kun?ávanik. Nu;<sub>2</sub> ta'ifutctímitcas páva;<sub>2</sub> nu'á·punmuti páva;<sub>2</sub> Pe'k-xaré'yav pakunkupíttihañik, va;<sub>2</sub> pakun?á·mtihañik, pámitva va;<sub>2</sub> kiníppé·ntihat pananútá·t 'lín. Viri va;<sub>2</sub> vúra nu;<sub>2</sub> káru va;<sub>2</sub> tapu-kin?á·mtihářa, pámitva kiníppé-řat: "Ve· ku'á·mtihé'<sup>ec</sup>." Hú·t-hé'<sup>c</sup> pananu'iffuθ va'iffapuhsa'.

All did the same, the way that the Iksareyavs used to do. And what the Iksareyavs ate, that was all that they ate. They told them: "Ye must eat this kind." The Iksareyavs ate salmon, they spooned acorn soup, salmon along with acorn soup. And they ate deer meat. And they claimed that the Iksareyavs had two meals a day, and they also did only that way. When the whites all came, then they said: "They eat poison, poison food, world-come-to-an-end-food." The middle-aged people were the first to eat the white man food. When they liked it, they liked it. They told each other: "It tastes good." They said: "He never died, I am going to eat it, that bread." But the old men and old women did not eat it till way late. We are the last ones that know how the Iksareyavs used to do, how they used to eat, the way our mothers told us. And even we do not eat any more what they told us to eat. And what will they who are raised after us do?

<sup>28</sup> In the New Year's ceremony there is little mention of deer meat in the ritual, but many observances regarding salmon and acorn soup.

7. Pahú't kunkupamáhanik  
pehē'taha'

(ORIGIN OF TOBACCO)

Vúra va; Pe'kxaré'yav kuníppá'n'nik. Va; vura pappíric kú-nipcamkírén'nik, kó:vura va; fa:t pappíric, pananuppíric. Kó:vúra va; pappíric kuníppá'nik 'ánnav-he'e. Víri va; pakuníppá'n'nik: "Va; Payá'slára kunínakkírit-tihé'e."

Xas va; pehē'taha', yíθøa Pe'kxaré'yav 'astí:p 'upippátcicrihanik sah'ihe'raha'. "Kúna vúra Yá'slára púva 'ihé'ratihe'cafa, pasah'ihe'raha'." Xas kúkku:m yíθø 'upipátcicrihanik tapas'ihé'raha'. "Yá'slára páy 'u:m vúra va; pay 'uhé'ratihe'e, pehē'taha-hayé'pca' Yá'slára 'u:m va; pay 'u'uhθá'mhítihé'e, pamuhé'raha'. Yá'slára mummákkam 'u'uhθá'mhítihé'e, pamuhé'raha'. Yakún va; 'u:m 'ikpíshanhe'e. Yá'slára 'u:m 'u'uhθá'mhítihé:e pamuhé'raha'. Yakún va; Tú'y-cip 'upáKKihtihé:e pamuhé'raha'." Va; kunkíppá'n'nik Pe'kxaré'yav. Yakún kákum Tú'y-cip kunkárihierihanik, Pe'kxaré'yav.

Víri va; kumá'i'i pehē'taha' kun'uhθá'mhéti', yakún 'u:m kunkíppá'n'nik Pe'kxaré'yav kunkíppá'n'nik, Pehē'taha'.

8. Paká:n kuma'á'pun va; mi tákunxus va; ká:n panu'uhθá'mhe'e

Pé'kk'yúka'ínk'yúram va; yé'p-cé'cip 'u'i'fti. Tienámnihiitc 'u:m vúra pu'uhθá'mhítihap. Máruk 'ipútri:k xas pakunúhθá'mhítí'.

The Ixxareyavs said it. They left the plants, all the plants, our plants. They said the plants will all be medicine. Then they said: "Human will live on them."

Then tobacco, one Ixxareyav threw the downslope tobacco down by the river bank. "But Human is not going to smoke it, that downslope tobacco."

Then again, he threw down another kind, real tobacco. "Human will smoke this, the good tobacco. Human will sow this, his own tobacco. Human will sow it back of his place, his own tobacco. Behold it will be strong. Human will sow his tobacco. Behold he will be feeding his tobacco to Mountains." They said it, the Ixxareyavs. Behold, some of them became mountains, the Ixxareyavs did.

So this is why they sow smoking tobacco, behold the Ixxareyavs threw it down, the smoking tobacco.

(THE KIND OF PLACE CHOSEN FOR PLANTING TOBACCO UPSLOPE)

Where logs have been burned the best ones grow. They never sow it in an open place. Upslope under the trees is where they sow it.

Xunyé.pri:k 'ipútri:k takun?úh-héámhá'. Pu'ippahasúrukhařa, 'ipahapí:m vúra, pe'mtcaxah ?úk'yváti', vá: ká:n pakun?úh-héámhiti'. Pirícri:k 'u:m vura pu'uhéámhítihap. Pe'kk'yuka-'ínk'yúram va: ká:n payé:pc 'u'ífti, 'a? vár u'ífti' tíriheca pamuppíric víri va: pe'hé'raha'.

Where the tanbark oaks are, near the foot of a ridge, where there are dead trees. Not under the trees, but near the trees, where the sunshine hits them, that's the place that they plant it. They don't plant it in a brushy place. Where the log has been burned, there the best ones grow, grow tall, the tobacco has wide leaves.

### 9. Pakuma'ára:r pehé'raha 'u'úh-théámhítihánik

(WHO SOWED)

Vura pukó:vúra pa'ára:r 'uhéámhítihap pehé'raha'. Vúra tcí:mitc 'u:mkun pa'uhéámhítihansa'. Payíθakan kuma'iθivéánná:n vura tcí:mitc vura 'u:mkun pa'uhéámhítihansa'. Pa'ínná:k pa'a'lvari híavanasa va: pa'úhéámhítihan pehé'raha'. Vura pe'hé'raha ... takun?úhéámharaha'ák, vura 'u:m po'kara'é:ti'htihap, mahlí:tnihate vura patuvá:ram, 'avíppuš, pu 'akára vura 'á:pún-mutiháta. Vura 'u:m kó:vúra yiθukkánva ... pakun?úhéámhína'ti pá'a"r. Páy k'yú káru 'u:m vura yiθuk mu'úhéá"m. Vúra pu'áxxak yítca:te 'uhéámhítihap. Máruk pamukunpakkú:híram, pamukunmáruk, va: ká:n pakun?úhéámhiti pe'hé'raha'. Pamukún?u"p, pamukun?iθivéánné'en, va: ká:n pakun?úhéámhiti', vúra 'u:m puyiθuk uhéámhítihap peθ?ára:n'iθivéánné'en.

### 10. Puyittcakanite hitíha:n 'uhéámhítihaphánik

(THEY DO NOT SOW AT ONE PLACE ALL THE TIME)

Pú va: ká:n hitíha:n 'uhéámhítihap, há:ri yiθukánva kun-púhéámpùti', yiθukánva kunpik-yá:tti pa'uhéamhíram.

They do not sow at the same place all the time, sometimes they sow at a different place, they make a garden elsewhere.

11. Hári 'umúkłífk'ar pakun- (SOMETIMES THEY USED TO SOW  
ʔúhθā'mhitihāník NEAR THE HOUSES)

Karu hári mit vúra 'ivñf-h-  
k'am kunʔáhθā'mhitihāt. 'Iv-  
pí'm'mate, 'ikmahátcræm pí-  
mate mit k'ár û'i ftihat. Tapá-n-  
pay nakienakic<sup>29</sup> hín mit kuntay-  
várttihať, kári mit kunkō'hat  
pa'íhk'am kunʔáhθā'mti'. Mi  
takunpí'p: "Xáy k'uxáptcákkić  
pe'hé'taha'."

And sometimes they used to  
plant outside the living house.  
Near the living house, near the  
sweathouse too it used to come  
up. But later on the hogs used  
to spoil them, and they then quit  
planting it outside. They used  
to say: "Do not step on the  
tobacco."

12. Kakumni:k va: ká:n 'uhθa'mhírámhāník  
(SOME OF THE PLACES WHERE THEY USED TO SOW)

The locating and mapping of the tobacco plots belongs to the subject of Karuk placenames rather than here. A number of them can still be located, together with something in regard to the former owners. Some of them are identical with acorn gathering places. (See below.)

A specimen of the kind of information still obtainable along this line follows, telling of two plots in the vicinity of Orleans.

The tobacco plot upslope of Grant Hillman's place, across the river from the lower part of Orleans, where the tobacco still comes up annually of its own accord (see pl. 10), was until some 20 years ago sown by and belonged to 'Asó'so'o (Whitey), and Vakirá'yav, his younger brother, both of Káttiphifák rancheria (site of Mrs. Nellie Ruben's present home, just upriver from Hillman's). These men were Katiphira'árá'rás.

The plot at the site of Mrs. Phoebe Maddux's house at 'Asaθu-  
kin'ávahkam, near Big Rock, on the south side of the river just  
above the Orleans bridge, and some 150 feet upslope, where tobacco  
also still comes up, was sown by and belonged to 'Uhrí'v, alias  
'Imkíya'ák (Old Muggins) and Ma'yé·c (Rudnick), his son-in-law,  
of Teí'n'nac, the large rancheria at the foot of the hill there. They  
were Tcinatc'árá'rás.

'Ápsu"n, Old Snake, a resident of Ishipishrihak, had his tobacco  
plot at the big tanbark oak flat called Na'mkírik, upslope of the deer  
lick that lies upslope of Ishipishrihak. The garden was among and  
partly under the acorn trees. Garden and grove belonged to him;  
other people gathered acorns there, but it was necessary to notify  
him before doing so. 'Ápsu"n even had a sweathouse at Na'mkírik,  
which he used when camping there.

<sup>29</sup> Or nakic.

13. Tá·yhánik vura pehé·raha  
'iknivnampí·m'matc pehé·raha-  
piftanmáhapu tá·yhánik vura  
'arári'ík.

Ta:y mit vur u'ifpí·θvútihát  
'ikrivramí·k'ya:m, pehé·raha', kuna  
vura púva: mit 'ihrú·vtihapha',  
pa:ú·mukite vehé·raha', papífffa-  
puhsa'.

14. 'Ikmahatcnampí·matc karu  
vura 'upí·ftihanik 'iftanmáha-  
puhsahañik

'Ikmahatcrampí·matc hár  
u'ífti', karu hár ikmahátca:m  
'ávahkam. Paká:n tu'íffaha:k  
pí·m'matc va: 'u:m vura kún-  
látctitchiti', kuxuti yé·pca', θúk-  
kink'yunic puxxwítc pamússa'a:n,  
va: 'u:m ká:n 'ikxaramkúnic  
páyu"x, 'ikmahatcrampí·matc,  
va: 'u:m vura kúnctú·kti'.

15. 'Ahtú·y k'aru vur upí·fti-  
hanik papíffapu'

'Ahtú·y<sup>30</sup> mit k'aru vura ta:y  
'u'íftihá:t. Va: ká:n pa'ámta:p  
karu kuniyyé·cri·hvuti'. Vura  
'u:m puyávha:r, puva: 'ihé·ratí-  
ha:p takuniptáy'va, 'áhupmú·  
kunlákko:tí'. Puxútihap kiri  
va: nuhé'r, kúnlá·ytí', pu'á·púm-  
mutihap vura hó·yva pa'úhic  
'u'aramsf·prívtí'.

16. 'Axviθinníhak karu vura  
'u'íftihanik hárí

'Axviθinníhak tápá:n hár u'íf-  
tí'.<sup>31</sup> Nu: vúra puva:kinxúti-

OCCURRENCE OF VOLUNTEER  
TOBACCO ABOUT THE HOUSES

Much used to be coming up  
every place about the houses, the  
tobacco did, but they never used  
that, the tobacco near the houses,  
the volunteer stalks.

VOLUNTEER TOBACCO BY THE  
SWEATHOUSES

Sometimes it grows by the  
sweathouse and sometimes on top  
of the sweathouse. When it grows  
around there, they like it, they  
think they are good ones, its  
leaves are very green there on the  
black dirt, by the sweathouse.

(VOLUNTEER TOBACCO ON THE  
RUBBISH PILE)

Much grew also on the rubbish  
piles. They throw the ashes  
there, too. It is dirty; they do  
not smoke it; they spoil it, they  
hit it with a stick. They did not  
want to smoke it; they were  
afraid of it, they did not know  
where the seeds came from.

(TOBACCO SOMETIMES IN THE  
GRAVEYARDS ALSO)

It even grows in the graveyard  
sometimes, too. We do not want

<sup>30</sup> The 'ahtú·y, rubbish pile, was usually just downslope, riverward  
of the living house, a large constituent of it was ashes. It was also  
the family excrementary.

<sup>31</sup> For association of the tobacco plant with graves compare:  
"Tobacco plant grew from grave of old woman who had stolen

hara kir u'if 'axviθθinnihak 'ihé-raha'. Nu; púva nanúyá·ha-hařa,<sup>32</sup> pa'axviθθinnihak 'u'iffah-a'k. 'Āhùpmú·k takunityví-tci'p<sup>33</sup> pa va; ká;n tu'iffah-a'k. Va; kuníppénti kē·mic, ke·mi-ca'ihe·raha', puyahare·he·raha'. Tákunpi'p kē·mic pa'axviθθinnihak 'u'i·ftiha'k pe·he·raha'. Va; vura 'u;m pu'ihe·ratihap. Si:t 'í·n kú; kunsánmō·ttì pa'úhic kunxúti'. 'U;mkun vura pu'axviθθinnihak vúrā·yvútihap. Paxviθinlh?ú·mukite takun?ú·maha'a'k va; tāpa;n kari takunpá·tvar sáruk 'ick'yé',e;c.

#### 17. Hár'i vura máru kunikyá·tti-hanik papíffapu'

Paxuntápan 'u'iffiktiha;k na-níhk'yú·smít, va; ká;n hár ihé·ra mit 'ústú·ktihá;, pahó·yva tó·máha'a'k, mit 'usá·nmō·ttihat pa-mukrívra'a'm. Mit 'usuváxrá·hi-tihá;.

Peherahapíffapu pe·krivram-pí·m 'u'i·ftiha'k, va; 'u;m vura pu'ikyá·ttihaپ.

#### 18. Paká;n mi takun?úhθá·mhiti-hiřak, va; ká;n 'upíftánmá·hti kari.

Payé·m vura va; ká;n kar u'i·fti', pataxaravé·tta ká;n kun?úhθá·mhitihařik, xá;t káru vura kuyrakitaharahárinay vé·ttak mit kunkó·hat paká;n kun?úhθá·mhi-ti'.

Há-ák's blood," Russell, Frank, the Pima Indians, Twenty-sixth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., Washington, 1908, p. 248. "It is believed that an enemy's death may be caused by giving him tobacco from plants growing on a grave." Goddard, Life and Culture of the Hupa, Univ. of Cal. Pubs. on Arch. and Ethn., vol. 1, 1903, p. 37.

<sup>32</sup> Or Púva yá·hařa, that is not right.

<sup>33</sup> Or takun?ákk'u".

tobacco to be growing in the graveyard. That is not right for us when it grows in the graveyard. They knock it off with a stick if it grows there. They say it is poison, that it is poisonous tobacco, that it is dead person's tobacco. They say it is poison, when tobacco grows in the graveyard. They never smoke it. They think that mice packed the seed there. People never go around a grave. If they go near the grave they, indeed, then have to bathe down in the river.

#### (VOLUNTEER TOBACCO SOMETIMES PICKED UPSLOPE)

When my deceased mother used to pick up acorns, sometimes she would pick some tobacco, any place she would see it, she used to bring it home. She used to dry it.

The volunteer tobacco growing about the rancheria they do not pick.

#### (VOLUNTEER TOBACCO STILL COMES UP AT FORMER PLANTING PLOTS)

It nowadays still grows up there at the former planting plots, even though it has been 30 years since they quit planting it there.

Páva; ká:n tu'ínváha'ak, pámitva 'ihēraha'uhθamhiramhanik, va; karu vura kumatécite kitc upí·tfi k̄á:n, xá:t va; ká:n 'ú'l.nvà'. Pa'úhic 'ata vura pu'ínk'yútihařa. 'Ata vúra 'iθivθanēnsúruk 'ukrítituv, kuθ<sup>34</sup> papu'ínkútihařa. 'Uppí·fti k̄á:n kúkku:m vúra pataxxára vě·ttak paká:n kun'úhθā mhítihànik.

And when it burns over at the former planting plots, it just grows up all the more again too, even though it burns over. It must be the seeds do not burn. I guess they are under the ground, and that is why they do not burn. It comes up again itself there where they used to plant.

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<sup>34</sup> Or kumá'i'i.

V. Pahú·t pakupa'úhθā·mhahitihañik, karu pakunkupe·ctúkkahiti-hanik pehē·raha'

(HOW THEY USED TO SOW AND HARVEST TOBACCO)

1. Pa'ó·k 'iθivθanē·n̄a·tcip vakusrahíθvuy'

(THE KARUK CALENDAR)

The Karuk háriñay, or year, had 13 moons. Va: 'iθahárinay 'itráhyar karu kuyrákkü·sra', in one year there are 13 moons. Ten moons, beginning with the moon in which the sun starts to come back, December, have numerical names, although descriptive names tend to replace or to be coupled with several of these. Sometimes both numerical and descriptive name is mentioned in referring to double-named months. Thus 'Itáhàrāhàñ, Karuk Va('irá)kkü·sra'; 'Itá-hàrāháñ, 'Irákkü·srà'; 'Itaharahánkü·sra', Karuk Va('irá)kkü·srà'; or 'Itaharahánkü·srà', 'Irákkü·srà', for designating August. The remaining 3 moons, September, October, and November, have no numerical names and are said to begin the year, preceding the sequence of the 10 numbered moons. September is named from the downriver new year ceremonies at Katimin and Orleans. October is unique in having an unanalyzable name. November is the acorn-gathering moon. Possibly the cumbersomeness of forming numerical names beyond 10 accounts for the failure to number all 13 moons, a task which the language apparently starts but would be unable to practically finish. \*'Itráhyar karu Yíθθā·hañ, eleventh moon, would for example be so awkward that it would never be applied.

Nanuhárinay tu'ū·m, our [new] year has arrived, and similar expressions, are used of the starting of the new year ceremonies. Ideas of refixing the world for another year permeate these ceremonies. Mourning restrictions of various kinds practiced during the old year are discontinued and world and year are restarted. The new year of the upriver Karuk starts a moon earlier than that of the downriver Karuk, as a result of the Clear Creek new year ceremony starting 10 days before the disappearance of the August moon, and the Katimin and Orleans new year ceremonies, which are simultaneous with each other, start 10 days before the disappearance of the September moon. The Karuk year begins therefore in each of the two divisions of the tribe at a point in a lunation, whereas the Karuk month starts with the sighting of the new moon.

Therefore both the downriver Karuk and our Gregorian calendar start with nonnumerically named moons and have numerically named ones at the end. And the -hañ suffix of Karuk numerals to form moon names is as anomalous as the -bris of our Latin Septembris, etc.

The downriver Karuk moon names follow. To change these to the upriver Karuk nomenclature, the 2 terms given in the list for September are to be applied to August, and September is to have its descriptive term changed to Yú·m Va('irá)kkú·srà', mg. somewhat downriver (new year ceremony) moon (to distinguish from \*Yúruk Vákkú·srà', which would mean the Requa to Weitspec section moon).

The Karuk are still somewhat bewildered in their attempts to couple their lunar months with the artificial months of the Gregorian calendar. Most of their month names now have standard English equivalences, but occasionally they hesitate. There is also a tendency to replace most of the month names by the English names when talking Karuk while the most obviously descriptive ones, such as Karuk Vákkú·srà', are retained. Before the spring salmon ceremony of Amekyaram was discontinued, Mrs. Nelson informed the Indians for several years by her Whiteman calendar the dates of March 1st and April 1st, which were substituted for the appearances of the new moons of 'Itró·ppahañ and 'Ikrívkiha'ñ, respectively.

1. (a) 'Ó·k Va('irá)kkú·srà', mg. here moon (of the 'írahiv, new year ceremony), so called because the Katimin and Orleans new year ceremonies began 10 days before this moon disappears, and lasted 15 or 20 days. (b) Nanu('irá)kkú·srà', mg. our moon (of the 'írahiv, new year ceremony). "September."

2. (a) Ná·ssé'ep, no mg. (b) Ná·sé·pk'yú·srà', adding -kú·srà', moon. "October."

3. (a) Pakuhákkú·srà', mg. acorn-gathering moon. They stayed out formerly about a month gathering acorns. (b) Pá·kkuhiv, acorn-gathering time, is sometimes used synonymous with the name of the moon. "November."

4. (a) Yiθə·hañ, mg. first moon. (b) Yiθə·hánkú·srà', adding -kú·srà', moon. (c) Kusrahké'em, mg. bad moon, called because of its stormy weather. (d) Kusrahké'mkú·sra', adding -kú·srà', moon. "December." This is the month in which the sun enters for 5 days inside the "kusriv." In this month men run about at night when the moon is not shining, bathe, pronounce Kitaxrihañ formulas, and thus obtain luck and strength.

5. (a) Áxxakhañ, mg. second moon. (b) 'Axakhánkú·srà', adding -kú·srà', moon. "January."

6. (a) Kuyrá·hañ, mg. third moon. (b) Kuyrakhánkú·srà', adding -kú·sra', moon. Also loosely identified with "January."

7. (a) Pi·θváhañ, mg. fourth moon. (b) Piθvahánkú·srà', adding -kú·sra', moon. Tceanimansupá'hákka'm, Chinaman big day, for-



a. Digging sticks



b. Woven bag in which picked tobacco is carried home



c. Disk seats



d. Stem-tobacco pestle



BUNDLE OF PICKED TOBACCO LEAVES TIED IN DOUGLAS FIR TWIGS AND THEN IN BRACKEN LEAVES. PREPARATORY TO CARRYING HOME

merly cocelebrated by some of the Karuk at Orleans and other Chinese contact places, falls in this moon. "February."

8. (a) 'Itrō·ppāhàñ, mg. fifth moon. (b) 'Itrō·pahánkū·srā', adding -kū·srā'. "March."

9. (a) 'Ikrívkiha<sup>a</sup>n, mg. sixth moon. (b) 'Ikrivkihá·nkū·srā', adding -kū·srā', moon. (c) 'Ame·kyā·rámkū·srā', mg. Amekyaram moon, so called because the spring salmon ceremony of Amekyaram begins at the new moon of this month. (d) 'Iruravahívkvū·srā', mg. moon of the 'írùrváhié, spring salmon ceremony. "April."

10. (a) Xakinívkihā<sup>a</sup>n, mg. seventh moon. (b) Xakinivkihá·nkū·srā', adding -kū·srā', moon. "May."

11. (a) Kuyrakinívkihā<sup>a</sup>n, mg. eighth moon. (b) Kuyrakinivkihá·nkū·srā', adding -kū·srā', moon. "June."

12. (a) 'Itrō·patíca·mnihàñ, mg. ninth moon. (b) 'Itrō·patica·mnihá·nkū·srā', adding -kū·srā', moon. (c) 'Ahvarákkū·srā', mg. moon of the 'áhavárahié, special name of the jump dance held at Amekyaram starting at new moon of this month and lasting 10 days. "July."

13. (a) 'Itáhárähàñ, mg. tenth moon. (b) 'Itaharahánkū·srā', adding -kū·srā', moon. (c) Karuk Va('irá)kkú·srā', mg. upriver moon (of the 'írahié, new year ceremony), so called because the Clear Creek new year ceremony begins 10 days before this moon disappears, and lasts either 15 or 20 days. (d) 'Irákkú·srā', mg. new year ceremony moon, used when it is understood which one is designated.

2. Pakumákū·srā pakun?úhθā·mhití karu pakumákū·srā pa-kun?íctū·ktí'

(SEASONAL INFORMATION AS TO SOWING AND HARVESTING)

Xáttíkrúpmà pakun?úhθā·mhití pe'hé'taha', 'Itrō·ppahan pakun?úθra·mhití', kunxuti kiri va; mû'k'u'ásha paxatikrupmapáθri', kiri tce·tc 'u'únnúprav kunxuti'. Vura va; ká:n 'uváráhva taθuvíkk'ák, pa'úhič, 'axmay ik víra tapurafátt'a<sup>ak</sup>, hínupa takun?úhθā·mhè'<sup>en</sup>.<sup>1</sup> Papinictunvé·ttas tu'ifcí·p, va; kári pakun?úhθā·mhití'. Va; kari pakun?úhθā·mhití pe'kmaháterca;<sup>m</sup> tåha;k pafata-vé'nna<sup>a</sup>n, 'ikriripan?íkmahátcra<sup>a</sup>m.

It is in the springtime that they sow the tobacco, it is in March when they sow it; they want the spring showers to wet it, they want it to come up quick. They are hanging there on the rack, the seeds, then all at once they get no more; it is that they have planted them. When the little weeds are coming up is when they plant it. They plant it when the fatavennan is in the sweathouse, in the Amekyaram sweathouse.

<sup>1</sup> Or takun?úhθā·mhahe'<sup>en</sup>.

Patakun'úhθā·mha'ák,      vúra  
 'u:m tcé·tc 'u:i·fti', itaharasúppa:  
 va; kari vura tu'íkk'yùrúpráv.

Pámítva passárip núsťú·ktiháč,  
 'Ikrikviha:n patcim usírē·caha:k  
 pakkú·sra', mit nummá·htihat  
 pe'hé·raha' tu'if, va; kari mit  
 panumá·htiháč, passárip nús-  
 tū·ktihá:a:k.

'Icvit k'yō·ta'a? 'Ahvarákkú·srà  
 to·sí·ntiháč.

Va; ká:n vura hó·yva Karuk  
 Vákkú·srà papicó·tc kuničtú·kti  
 pehē·rahássa'·n, kunikfiθsúro·ti',  
 'áffivk'yam kun?arávú·kti'. Kun-  
 xúti xay 'uváxra pamússa'·n. Pa-  
 kári kari 0úkkinkúníc pamúss'·n,  
 va; kari pakunictu·kti', va; 'u:m  
 'ikpíhanhe:c pehē·raha'. Pakáruk  
 Vákkú·sra va; kari vura tó·θriha'  
 karu va; kári tayé·pca pamup-  
 píic.

Xas takunpíkrú·nti', kumpimu-  
 sánkó·ttí', xas va; kúkku:m  
 ik vura takunpíctuk. Pavúra  
 hú·tva kó· kari yé·pcaha:k pa-  
 mússa'·n, vura va; kuničtukán-  
 kó·ttí'.

Xas takunpíkrú·nti xá:t ik  
 'ukké·cicasaha pehē·rahássa'·n  
 'íppankam, va; 'u:m payé·pca  
 'íppankam 'u:m paxváhaharas  
 pehē·rahássa'·n. Xas 'Ó·k Vak-  
 kú·sra va; kári k'yukku:m takun-  
 píctuk. Karixas vura patakun-  
 kó·ha' pavura tó·mtúpfíp, tó·m-  
 va:y, 'Ó·k Vákkú·sra va; kári  
 takunkó·ha'.

Xas pínmar xas takuníkyav  
 pa'úhič. Kari vura 'akká:y vú-  
 rava tó·kyáv, hárí vura pukó-  
 vura 'ictúkfí·ptiháp, tapúfa:t kari

When they sow it, it comes up  
 quickly; in 10 days it grows,  
 pricks up.

When we used to gather hazel  
 sticks, at the end of April, we  
 saw the tobacco already growing;  
 that was the time we saw it, when  
 we were picking hazel sticks.

It is halfway grown at the end  
 of July.

Sometime about August they  
 first pick the tobacco leaves, they  
 pick them downward,<sup>2</sup> they start  
 in at the base of the plant. They  
 are afraid the leaves will get dry.  
 When it is green yet, they pick it,  
 so the tobacco will be strong. By  
 August it is already blooming and  
 it is already well leaved out.

Then they wait again; they  
 keep looking at it, then they pick  
 it again. As long as the leaves  
 are good yet, they keep going to  
 pick it.

Then they wait again until the  
 tobacco leaves on top get bigger,  
 those are the good ones; the to-  
 bacco leaves on top are pitchy.  
 Then in September they pick it  
 again. That is when they finish,  
 when it is all ripe, yellow; in  
 September they finish.

Then after the new year cere-  
 mony they gather the seeds.  
 That is when anybody picks it,  
 sometimes they [the owners] do

<sup>2</sup> I. e., they pull them off from the stem in downward direction as they pick them.

payé·pca'. Payé·pca kó·vúra takunikyá·ffip.

Xas Na·ssé·p 'icá·ppí·ttite va;  
kari vura hitíha;n 'upáθerí·hti'.  
Va; kari mupíccí:p takunpikya-  
rúffip pehé·raha', pa'uhíppi k'yáru  
vura, káru vura pa'úhič.

### 3. Pahú·t kunkupa'úhθá·mhiti'

Pehé·raha takun'úhθá·mha'a;k,  
va; ká:n takunsá·nma pa'uhic-  
íppa'. Va; vura ti·kmú:k kún-  
rákká·ti', pa'uhicíppa'. Kárixas  
kunkitnusutnússuti'<sup>2a</sup>, patakun-  
'úhθá·mha'a;k, takunmútpi·θva  
pa'amtápnihitc.

### 4. 'Ihé·raha'úhθá·mha'

Pe·hé·raha pakun'úhθá·mhiti  
víri va; kunvé·nafípkýō·ti pa'úhič,  
takunpí:p: "Hú·kka hínùpà 'i:m,  
'Ó·k 'Iθivθané·n'à·tcíp Ve·kxaré-  
yañ. 'I:m va; pay mihé·raha  
'úhθá·mhárähánik. Víri na;í'n  
nu'á·pùnmùti'." 'Viri páy nanu-  
'ávahkam 'iifrúppànè;c pe'iffa-  
ha'a;k,' i:m vé·ppá·n'nik. 'Yá·s  
'ára va; páy 'u'úhθá·mhárati-  
hè'e;c, ta'í'n ná'á·pùnmähä'a;k,'<sup>3</sup>

### 5. Pahú·t pakunkupé·vrárakku- rihmaθahiti pa'úhič

Patakunipmútpi·θvamaraha;k  
pa'úhič, xas piric<sup>4</sup> takun'áppi·v,  
xas va; 'ávahkam takuniθyúruθ-  
θun pappíric, va; 'u:m pa'úhic  
yúxsúruk 'uvrárakkürihe'e;c.

<sup>2a</sup> For further detail on breaking the covering off the seed capsules when sowing, see p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> Imk'yánvan used this formula recently when planting string beans. "'Growing mayst thou grow to the sky,' thou saidest it." They grew so high that Imk'yánvan could hardly reach to the top.

<sup>4</sup> Any kind of bush is used, the first loose one they see.

not pick it all off, there are no more good ones then. The good ones they pick all off.

Then when the October moon first starts in, it always rains. Before that they are through with the tobacco, the stems, too, and the seeds, too.

### (SOWING)

When they sow the tobacco, they carry the seed stalks to the place. They carry them in their hands, the seed stalks. Then they break them open, when they sow, they scatter them over the ashy place.

### (TOBACCO SOWING FORMULA)

When they plant tobacco they talk to the seed, saying: "Where art thou, Ixareyav of the Middle of the World. Thou wast wont to sow thy tobacco. I know about thee. 'Growing mayst thou grow to the sky,' thou saidest it. 'Human will sow with these words, if he knows about me.'"

### (HARROWING THE TOBACCO SEED IN)

After they scatter the seeds, then they hunt a bush, then they drag the bush around over it, so that the seeds will go in under the ground. Or they merely sweep

Karu hā·ri 'ávahkam takuntát-tuycur kite píricmū'k. 'Á·pun takuntatuytáttuy pa'ípa ká:n kun'úhθā mhàt. Xé·tcítchenihítc, 'amtápnihič, pamitva ká:n 'íkk'yú kun'áhko't.

### 6. Pahú·t kunkupavitríppahiti'

Xas va; vura kumpimusánkōtti tcé'myátcva'. Kunvítrí·pti payíó kumáppiic, xay vo'ífcár. Vúra pu'ikxáyxá·ytihàp, kunvítrí·pti vúra kite.

Va; 'u:m ká:n pútta;y 'íftihara papinictunvē'etc, paká:n pé'kk'yú kun'áhkō·ttihánik. Va; vura kite pakatássip,<sup>5</sup> xá:t karu vura hú·tva kō· kun'áhku"<sup>6</sup>, va; vura 'u'ífti pakatássip.

### 7. Pahú·t 'ukupa'íffahiti'

Há·ri puyáv kupay'íffahítihára. Pakunic 'iváxra pe'hé·raha'íppa', kari tákunpí:p: "Pu'yé·pcahe·cara pe'hé·raha', sárip k'yúníc tu'ifxanahsí·pnínátc."<sup>6</sup> Pakupaták-ká·msá tu'iffaha'ak, va; pakun-xúti yé·pca', tcé'mya:tc 'úti·khiná·tì'.<sup>7</sup> Xas kuni·pítti: "Va; pehé·raha yé·pcahe'ec. Kunic 'aptíkk'yárah'èec, tá:yhé:c pamús-sa'a:n. Va; pehé·raha yé·pcahe'ec," kuni·pítti', patákùnma-hà:k kupa·ták-ká·msa'.

on top of it with brush. They sweep over where they have sown. It is soft ground, it is ashes, where they burned the logs.

### (WEEDING)

They go and see it often. They thin out the other weeds, lest they grow up with it. They do not hoe it, they just weed it out.

The little weeds do not come up much where they have burned. Only bracken comes up. I do not care how much they burn it off, the bracken is growing there.

### (HOW IT GROWS)

Sometimes it does not grow good. When the tobacco plant is kind of dry looking, they say: "It is not going to be good, it is going to be coming up slender like hazel sticks." It is when they have big [large diametered] stalks, that they think that they are good ones [good plants], that they will soon be branchy. Then they say: "They will be good tobacco plants. They will be branchy, they will have many leaves. They will be good tobacco plants," they say when they see the fat stalks.

<sup>5</sup> The kind of fern used for wiping off eels.

<sup>6</sup> An old expression.

<sup>7</sup> They like to see the tobacco growing branchy, for it indicates that it will have many leaves. But when gathering hazel sticks for basketry they do not want the hazel to be branchy: Passárip 'u:m va; pataptí·kk'yárahsha'ak, tapúvè·ctú·ktihàp, the hazel sticks, when they get branchy, they no longer pick.

8. Pahú·t 'í'n kumpí·kkýáratí há·ri (TOBACCO SOMETIMES KILLED BY  
'aθí·kmú'u k THE COLD)

Há:ti vā:tákunpí:p: “‘Aéik  
yín takunpí:kk̄ar nanihē.raha’,  
tupímxánkúrihva.’” Tupímx̄ař,  
tupimx̄ankúrihva pananihē-  
raha’, ‘aéik yín takunpí:kk̄ař,  
’u:m vura va:tapupífrúpravařa,  
tu:i výřa.

## 9. Pahú·t kunkupé·ctúkkahiti pamússa'·n

'Áffi vari papícci:p 'u'ífti papíric tírihca', Kunímmyú'stì vura pakári kuniectükke<sup>e</sup>c.<sup>8</sup> Pató'm-tup 'afív'ávahkam pappíric, xas pícci:p va:<sup>9</sup> kári takuníctuk. Takunímm'yú'sti vúra. Karuk vákkú'srà va:<sup>10</sup> kári papicci'te kuniectú'kti'. 'Afiv'ávahkam va:<sup>11</sup> kuniectú'kti' papirictírihca', pe'hé'-rahássa<sup>a</sup>n. 'Afiv'ávahkam takuníctúksúru<sup>b</sup>, takunikfiθúnni'h-và'. 'Íppan 'u'm vura pu'áf-fictihap. Po'kké'citcasha<sup>a</sup>k xas i kuniectükke<sup>e</sup>c.

Xas kunikrú·nti xá·ti k'yúkku·m  
ké·cítcas pappíric. Xasik'yúkku·m  
kunpictúkke'·c, pe·hē·rahássa'·n.  
Vura hárí· vúrava pato·kké·cí-  
teasha pamússa'·n, 'a? künictük-  
kurá·ti'. Xas kúkku·m 'Ó·k Vák-  
kú·srà', patcimupaθríhē·cāhá'·k,  
patcimupicyavpí·críhē·cāhá'·k,  
va; kári kó·vúra takuníkyá·, pa-  
úhic k'yáru vuřa. Kuynakyá·n-  
nite vura kunpictú·kti', hárí vura  
'axakyá·nnite kunpictú·kti'. Pa-  
tupáθrí·kk'yáhá'·k va· kari tapu-  
'amavá·hařa, tapu'ikpí·hanhařa.

Sometimes they say: "The cold killed my tobacco, it is wilted down." It is touched by the frost or cold, it is burned to the ground, the cold killed it. It will never come up again, it just dies down.

(PICKING THE LEAVES)

The broad leaves come out first near the base [of the stalk]. They watch it as to when they are going to pick the leaves off. When the leaves get ripe above the base of the stem, then they pick for the first time. They watch it. It is about August when they pick it the first time. From above the base they pick the broad leaves, the tobacco leaves. From the base of the stalk they pick them off. They never touch the top. When they [the leaves of the top] are bigger then they will pick them.

Then they wait until the leaves come out big again. Then they will pick them again, the tobacco leaves. They pick the leaves from time to time as they get big, they pick them, proceeding upward. Then again in September, when it is going to rain, when the fall of the year is going to come, then they pick [lit. fix] it all, and the seeds too. Three times it is they pick it, or sometimes they pick it twice. When it rains on it, it does not taste good any

<sup>8</sup> The old expression for going to pick tobacco is, e. g.: 'Ihé·rah íp ustúkkarat, he has gone to pick tobacco.

'Ó:k Vákku:sra tó:síntihate va:  
kari kunxúti kiri nupíkya:r  
kó:vúra.

10. Pahú:t pakunkupeyx'ó:tari-  
vahiti pehē:rahasanictúkkapu'

Patcimi kunkíccape:caha:k pe-  
hē:rahássa'a:n, katássi:p<sup>9</sup> takun-  
lápipi:, 'á:pu:n va:  
takuniyé:crí:h-  
va', xas 'ávahkam takunpanáp-  
ku", pakatassip'ávahkam, pehē-  
rahássa'a:n, kúyrá:kkán hárí, 'a?  
takunpanápsi:p pássa'a:n. Yá  
vúra takunkupapanáprá:mnihvà'.  
Xas katássi:p'ávahkam takun'lí-  
x'ó:tári:v. Karixas takunkíccap-,  
'á:nmú:u:k, vura fá:u:t várava  
mú:k takunkíccap-. Yá vúra ta-  
kuníkya:v. Kunxúti xay 'uvá-  
xra'. 'U'íxútcxú:tctí pakun'afíc-  
cén:nnátí patuvaxráhá:a:k. Kari-  
xas òuxrí:vak<sup>10</sup> takunθá:nnám'ni,  
hárí 'axakíccap-. 'Axakíccap kite-  
vur uyá:hiti paθúxri'<sup>11</sup>v.

Hárí táhpu:s 'ávahkam takun-  
kíccapparaiv, katasip'ávahkam,  
kunxúti xay 'úmpu:t. Òuxrí:va  
kunkíck'yúruhti, hárí kun'lí:θvùti'.<sup>12</sup>  
Xas òuxrí:va kíccap takun'lúru-  
rás'mnihvà'. Payvé:m<sup>13</sup> 'u:m

more, it is not strong. By the  
end of September they try to  
get through with everything.

(WRAPPING UP PICKED LEAVES)

When they are going to tie the  
tobacco leaves up, they hunt  
some Bracken. They spread it  
on the ground. Then they stack  
the tobacco leaves on top of it,  
on top of the Bracken, in may be  
3 piles; they stack them high,  
they stack them up in there good.  
Then they wrap Bracken around  
them outside. Then they tie it  
up, with twine, or with anything  
they tie it up. They fix it good.  
They do not want it to get dry.  
It gets broken up when handled  
if it gets dry. Then they put it  
in the network sack,<sup>10</sup> sometimes  
two bundles.<sup>11</sup> Two bundles is  
about all that a network sack will  
hold.

Sometimes they tie Douglas Fir  
needles outside, outside the Brack-  
en [leaves], they are afraid it  
might get wilted.<sup>12</sup> They carry it  
(the net bag of tobacco) in their  
hands or on their back. They

<sup>9</sup> Bracken, *Pteris aquilina* L. var. *lanuginosa* (Bory) Hook. They spread Bracken leaves on the ground, stack tobacco leaves on them side by side, then wrap the stacks with Bracken leaves, then tie the bundle by wrapping iris twine or other tying material about it. Such a bundle is sometimes 6 inches high and as long and wide as the leaves make it.

<sup>10</sup> For illustration of òuxri'<sup>11</sup>v, network sack, see Pl. 11, b.

<sup>11</sup> The term for bundle is kíccap. 'Iθakíccap pehē:rahássa'a:n, one  
bundle of tobacco leaves.

<sup>12</sup> For bundle of tobacco tied with both Bracken and Douglas Fir,  
see Pl. 12. The dimensions of this bundle are 14" long, 6½" wide,  
4½" high.

<sup>13</sup> Or payváhe:m.

vúra θuxrivpū·vicak takunmáh-yànnàtì<sup>14</sup> pakíccap̄.

11. Pahú·t pa'uhíppi kunkupe·c-túkkahiti'

Pukaru vura va; kitc 'ikyá·tiha pamússa<sup>15</sup>n, vura pa'uhíppi k'yáru vura kunikyá·tti hárí, patuvaxráha·k pa'uhíppi'.

Árvánnihitc vura patakunik-paksúru<sup>u</sup>· yuhírimmú<sup>u</sup>k. Va;<sup>u</sup>m kári mit vura símsi;<sup>m</sup> takuníshru<sup>v</sup>tiha<sup>l</sup> pámitva na;<sup>u</sup> nimmýá-hat. 'Ipcú nkínacás vura takuníkpákpa<sup>k</sup>. Xas kunkíccapvuti pa'uhíppi k'yáru vúra, 'á·nmú<sup>u</sup>k, fá·t vúra va; mű;k takunpíccap̄. Takunsuváxra', ínná;k takunsuváxra'. Takuníkyav kó·vúra patapicyavpí·criha<sup>a</sup>k pamu'íppa káru vura takuníkyav, víri va; pa'uhíppi'. Va; hó;y vura va; takunsuváxra yó·ram 'a? pa'u-híppi', 'a? takun'aká·tā·kù<sup>u</sup>.

12. Pahú·t pa'úhic kunkupe·c-túkkahiti'

Xas patu'úhicha<sup>a</sup>k, vura pu'ípcinvárihvútihap pa'úhic pakuníkyá·víc. 'Ipánsúnnukite takuníkpáksúru<sup>u</sup>. Kari 'asxayá·tc vura pakuníkyá·tti', kunlá·pùnmìti ínná;k xas ik 'uvaxráhe<sup>e</sup>c. Puxxár ikrú·ntihap̄, kunxuti xáy 'úhrup pa'úhic. 'Íppanvari pakuníkpaksúrō·ti', va; vura kitc kuníppé·nti 'úhič, pehē·raha'úhič, hárí vura va; kuníppé·nti pehē-raha'uhicíkyav.<sup>15</sup>

put the bundle(s) in the network sack. Nowadays they put the bundle(s) in a gunny sack.

(PICKING THE STEMS)

The leaves are not all that they pick, the tobacco stems, too, they pick sometimes, when the stems are already dry. They cut them [the stems] off a little up from the ground [some 6 inches up], with a flint knife. They were using an iron knife in my time. They cut them into short pieces. And they tie the tobacco stems into bundles, with twine, or with anything. They dry them, they dry them in the living house. They tend to it all in the fall, to the stalks too they tend, called the 'uhíppi'. They dry them anywhere above the yó·ram, the tobacco stems, they pile them there above.

(PICKING THE SEEDS)

And when it goes to seed, they do not forget to "fix" some seed. They cut them off pretty near the top. They pick them still green, they know they will dry in the living house. They do not wait too long, they are afraid the seeds will fall. The cut-off tops they just call seeds, tobacco seeds, or they call them "tobacco seeds that they are fixing."

<sup>14</sup> Or takunmáhyan.

<sup>15</sup> See p. 58.

Táffirápumú·k takunkíccap va;  
'u;·m pa'úhič, pu'á·pun 'ívraric-  
ríhē·càrà. Tcímítcmahite<sup>16</sup> ta-  
kunkíccap, va; vura kunkupasu-  
vaxráhahe'c.

Xas takunípcá·nsíp pa'úhič,  
'ínná·k xas takunsuváxra, yō·-  
ram takunvárái·hvà', yō·ram,  
há·ri k'yaru vura 'áxxaki;tc pakíc-  
cap, karu há·ri vura kumatté·cíté.  
Taθuvíkk'yak takuntákkaraři, sa-  
ruk u'ipanhú·nníhva', puxxʷítc  
'uváxrá·ti va; ká;n pa'úhič, 'um-  
yé·hiti k'yaru. Kunippítti va; 'u;·m  
'ikpíshanhe'c, pehē·raha', pa'ahi-  
rámti;m 'iθé·cyav tutákkarari-  
vaha'ak, vura u;·m 'ikpíshanhe;c  
pehē·raha pakun?úhθá·mhà'ak.  
Sáruk 'u'uhichú·nníhva pakun-  
suváxrá·hti'.

Takunvupaksúru; pamu'íppaň,  
pehe·raha'ipaha'íppaň, pakun-  
xá·yhe;c pa'úhič. Tcimítcmahite  
vúra patakunkíccap, táffirápùhák.  
'ínná·k yō·ram kunvarái·hvúti',  
'iθé·cyá; vúra va; ká;n 'uvará-  
ri·hvà'.

Va; ká;n vúra takunvárái·hvà'. Patcimikunúhθá·mhè·cà-  
hà'ak, kárixas vura takunpáffic,  
xás takunipcarúnni·hvà'. Va; vúra ká;n 'utá·yhitì'. Kárixas vura takunpáffic patcimikunúhθá·mhè·càhà'ak.

## 12. Pahú·t pa'araraká·nnimitcas kunkupítti há·ri kunípcí·tvuti pehē·raha'

Há·ri vura pakká·nnimitcas  
pa'ára;r va; ká;n takunpictúk-  
ta;a;n, pa'ú·ppáràs takunkó·ha'ak.  
Pa'uhíppi k'yaru takuníkyav, há·ri,

They wrap them [the stems with seeds on them] up in a buckskin so the seeds will not drop off. In small bunches they tie them up, they always dry it that way.

Then they take the seeds home, they dry them in the house, they hang them up in the yō·ram, sometimes a couple of bundles, sometimes more. They hang them on the rack, top down, the seeds get awfully dry there, and sooty too. They say it will be strong, that tobacco, when it hangs by the fireplace all winter, that the tobacco will be strong when they plant it. The seed is turned downward when they are drying it.

They cut off the tops, the tobacco plant tops, when they are going to save the seed. They tie them up in buckskin in small bundles, with Indian string. They hang it up in the living house, in the yō·ram. It hangs there all winter.

They hang them there. When they are ready to sow it, then they touch it, then they take them down. They are kept there. When they are about to plant they take it down.

(POOR PEOPLE STEALING TOBACCO)

Sometimes the poor people pick it over again, when the owners have finished with it. They "fix" the stems, too, sometimes, the poor

<sup>16</sup> Lit. a little at a time.

pakkā'nnimitcas pa'ára'a·r. 'Ú·rí-hă·nsa', kúnic takunsi·tva'. Tákunkus: "Xáy 'u'á·sha', tí· vúra na; kánsi·tvì'." Va; vura karu hă·ri kunsí·tvùti', takun?é·ttcur tatnakararí·mvak, fă·t vúrava takun?é·ttcur patakunmáha'·k, fă·t vúrava kum ahavick'á·n'va.

people do. They are lazy ones, they just like to steal it. They think: "It might get wet, I might as well steal it." And sometimes, too, they steal; they take off of a trap, take anything if they see it, any kind of game animal.

VI. Pahú·t · kunkupé·kyá·hiti  
pehē·raha patakunpíctü·kma-  
raha'a·k

(HOW THEY CURE TOBACCO AFTER  
PICKING IT)

1. Pahú·t pakunkupasuvaxráha-  
hiti pehē·rahássa'a·n

(CURING TOBACCO LEAVES)

Patákunyí·pmaha'a·k, 'ikma-  
hátcrá·m vura takuníθva'a.  
Ká·n xas takunsuváxra ma?tí·m'-  
mitc.

Takunpíppu·. Xas takunsu-  
váxra'. 'Í·vhá·rak takuníθimpí·θ-  
va'. Pa'i·vhartíriha'a·k, kuyrá·k  
'u'áhō·hítì takuníθimpí·θva', karu  
pa'i·vhartcú·yyítcha'a·k, 'áxxa  
kíté vúr 'u'áhō·hítì.

Karu hárí pattá·yha'a·k, 'í·n-  
ná·k vura takunpávar 'imvaram-  
tíri, tá·nnípra·v. 'Imvára·vak su·  
takuníθimpí·θva', ta·y vúr u'áhō-  
hítì 'imvára·vak sù·?

Pa'i·vhár pakunsu·vaxra·h-  
kíritti', 'ikmahátcrá·m kunsaráv-  
rá·θvùtì', 'í·kk'yam vur utá·yhití  
pa'i·vhár. Va· 'u·m puká·n  
pusuváxrahtihap pamukun·lé-  
níθvá·rak.<sup>1</sup>

Hárí vura pu'i·vhá·rak suváx-  
rá·htihap, hárí vura 'imvára·vak  
karu vura pusuvárá·htihap. 'Asa-  
patapríhak víra kunsuváxrá·hítì,  
patef'mmítcha'a·k.

Kuynaksúppáhitc vura pakun-  
suváxrá·hítì'. Tamé·kuváxra'.  
Va· vura ká·n kuníphi·kkiríhti',

When they reach home, they  
pack them into the sweathouse  
on their backs. Then they dry  
them there in the ma?tí·m'mítc.

They untie them. Then they  
dry them. They spread them on  
a board. If the board is broad,  
they spread it in three rows, but  
if the board is narrow, in two  
rows.

And sometimes when there are  
lots [of the leaves], they get from  
the living house a wide openwork  
plate basket, a tá·nnípra·v. They  
spread them on the plate, many  
rows on the plate [in concentric  
circles].<sup>2</sup>

The boards that they dry them  
on they pack into the sweat-  
house, there are always some  
boards outside. They do not  
dry them on their sleeping boards.

Sometimes they do not dry it  
on any board or openwork plate  
basket. They dry it on the rock  
pavement [of the sweathouse], if  
there is little [of it].

It is three days that they are  
drying them. Then they get  
dry. They are sweating them-

<sup>1</sup> Or pamukun·yíθvánki·rak.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ikra·vapu'i·n'nap, cakes of black oat pinole, are spread in con-  
centric circles on a basket in the same way.

va; kumá'i'i pattcé:tc 'uváxrá·hti'.

Karixas takuníkxuk. Hárri táffirapuhak pakúníkxú·kti', hárri mûrukkañ. Xéttceic, pe'hé·raha', patuvaxnaháyá·tcha'ak, xéttcic. Takuníkxuk munúk' anammahat-tecał, hárri táffirapuhak. Pataku-nupíkya'a:r, takunpí:p: "Ikxúkkapu", "ihé·rahé·kxúkkapu", takunpí:p: "Ták' ihé·rahé·kxúkkapu" Pu'ikpurkunic 'ikyá·tiháp, kák-kum kunic tinshyá·ttcaš. Va; 'u:m 'úmná·pti' pu'ínk'yútihař 'ührá·mmak sù? pé·mp'úrkúnic-ha'a:k.

selves in there [twice a day], that's why it gets dry quick.

Then they rub it between their hands. It is either onto a buckskin that they rub it or onto a closed-work plate basket. It is soft, the tobacco is, when it is thoroughly dry, it is soft. They rub it between their hands onto a little closed-work plate basket, or onto a buckskin. When they finish [crumbling it] they call it "Crumbled stuff, crumbled tobacco." They say: "Give me some crumbled tobacco." They do not make it fine (lit. like fine meal), some pieces are like flat flakes. It fuses, it does not burn in the pipe, if it is too fine.

## 2. Pahú:t 'íkmahátra:m kun-kupe'kyá·hiti pappíric, kuna vura 'ínná:k 'íkrívrá·mak xas po·ttá:yhiti'

(TOBACCO LEAVES ARE CURED IN THE SWEATHOUSE BUT STORED IN THE LIVING HOUSE)

'Íkmahátra:m vura pakuni-kyá·tti'. 'Ínná:k 'u:m vúra pu'ikyá·ttiháp, kunxuti': "Xáy 'ávak<sup>3</sup> 'úkyá·mnámni pe'hé·raha'."

It is in the sweathouse that they work it [the tobacco]. They do not work it in the living house; they think: "It might fall in the food."

Małtíf'mitc 'u:m vura hitiháx'n pakunsuváxrá·hti'. Va; 'u:m ká:n vura pu'ifyé·fyúkkutihap małtíf'mitc pa'ára'a:r. Yó·ram 'u:m ké·teri'k, púva; ká:n suváxrá·htihař, va; ká:n 'u:m kuniwyúkkuti'.

The małtíf'mitc is where they always dry it. The people do not go around there so much, around the małtíf'mitc. The yó·ram is a bigger place, but they do not dry it there, they go around there.

Hú·ntáhite papu'íkmahátra:ra:mtá:yhítihap pamukun'ihé·raha'. Vúra va; pamukun'ikyá·hánk vura puffá:t 'íkmahátra:m 'ávaha ðé·ra. 'Íkmahátra:m kunikyá·tti pamukun'ihé·raha', kuna vura 'ínná:k utá:yhiti'.

It is funny that they do not keep their tobacco in the sweat-house. It is their old custom that they do not put any food in the sweathouse. They work their tobacco in the sweathouse, but they keep it in the living house.

<sup>3</sup> One may also say 'ávahak.

3. Pahú't Pihné·ffite pó·ktá·kva-  
ranik 'ikmahátera:m kar  
ikrívra:a:m

(COYOTE SET SWEATHOUSE AND  
LIVING HOUSE APART)

Pakuntecú·phina·tihanik 'ikma-  
hátera:m hú:t 'ata Yá:s'ára pa-  
kunkupíttihe:c, hú:t 'ata pakun-  
kupa'ára tahitihe:c, xas Pihné·ff-  
ite 'uppí:p: "'Asiktáva:n 'u:m  
vúra pu'ikmahátera:m 'ikré·vi-  
ca:rá.<sup>4</sup> 'Asiktáva:n 'u:m vura  
'imxaθakké:mkáruruhe:c. 'Ávans  
'usúmxá:kthihé:c. Pa'asiktáva:n  
'u:m vura pu'ávkam 'áho·tihe-  
cara pémpá:k, viθxá:tta:r. 'U:m  
vura hitiha:n 'iffuθ kítc u'áhó-  
tihé:cá:rá 'asiktáva:n. Va:vúrā  
'u:m 'ukupíttihe:c. Karu 'u:m  
vúra vo'kupíttihe:c 'Asiktáva:n  
'uví:kthihé:c. Táy 'ásθit 'ukyá:t-  
tihé:c, pamuvíkk'yárahámù:uk.  
'U'iccùmtihé:c karu pa'ápk'a:s.  
'Ávansa 'u:m vúra kítc 'ukupít-  
tihe:c po'pariceríhvútihe:c. Ya-  
kún 'Asiktáva:n 'u:m kuníkv'á-n-  
tihé:c, 'Ávansa 'í:n." Va:kumá:i'i  
pe'kyá:kkám 'u'é·hanik  
Pa'asiktáva:n Pihné·ffitc. Viri  
'u:m vura 'ínná:kítc 'ukré·vic  
'Asiktáva:n.

Pihné·ffite 'u:m va: 'úpá:n'ník:  
"Fá:t kumá:i'i 'u:m 'Asiktáva:n  
'u'ú:rhíthihé:c? 'U:m tày kuni-  
váraratihe:c 'Asiktáva:n. 'U:m  
fúrax 'u'ó:ráhítihé:c. Karu há:ri  
'ú:ttih o'ó:ráhítihé:c. 'Ícpúk  
k'yáru vúrā 'u'órahitihe:c.  
'Axí:te k'yáru vur u'ónná:tihé:c  
'í:nná:k."

When they were talking in the  
sweathouse how Human was go-  
ing to do, how he was going to  
live, then Coyote said: "Woman  
is not to stay in the sweathouse.  
Woman is going to smell strong  
too. Man will be out of luck [if  
he smells a woman]. Woman will  
not walk ahead on the trail,  
she has a vulva-smell. A woman  
will walk only behind. She will  
do thus. And Woman will do it,  
will make baskets. She will make  
a lot of trash, with her basketry  
materials. She will be scraping  
[with mussel-shell scraper] iris,  
too. Man is doing it, making  
twine. Man will be buying  
Woman." That is what Coyote  
gave Woman so hard a job for.  
Woman will therefore stay only  
in the living house.

Coyote said: "What is woman  
going to be lazy for? They are  
going to pay lots for Woman.  
She will be worth woodpecker  
scarlet. And sometimes she will  
be worth a flint blade. Money  
too she will be worth. She will  
be raising children in the living  
house."

<sup>4</sup> Cp. Yuruk information that women used to live in the sweathouse, Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, Bull. 78, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 74.

4. Pahú·t pa'uhíppi kunkupé·k- (POUNDING UP THE TOBACCO STEMS)  
teúrahiti'

Karixas, pakunihró·vicaħa;k pa'uhíppi', 'ikrivkírakt<sup>4a</sup> akunvu-pakpákkiř. Va; vura tāya;n vura pakunvupakpakkírtti', karu va; vura pakunktcunkírtti pe'kriv-kírak. Karu hā·ri 'ássak a?. Teí·mitc vúra patakunsá·nsip pa'uhíppi', patakunsá·nsi pa'uhíppi', takuničáránkútì pe'krivkírak, 'áppap kun?axaytcákkicrihti pa'uhíppi', karu 'áppap yuhfrímmū·kunvupákpá·kti'. Tupitcasámmahite pakunvupaksúrō·ti', tū·píticas pakunvupaksúrō·ti'.

Páva; takunipvupákpá·kmaraħa;k 'ikrívkiřak, xas 'á·k 'ahím-pak takun?é·θripa'<sup>a</sup>, xas 'uhipi'-ávahkam va; takuniyúruθun<sup>5</sup> patakuntáskú·nti', va; kunkupasu-vaxráhahiti'. Pa'a;h kun?é·θti 'ávahkam. Pa'áhupkam pakun?axaytcákkicrihti'. Púyava; paté·mfir pa'uhíppi', pavupak-pákkapu', kárixas 'á·k takuníp-θá·nkiri, pá'a;<sup>a</sup>h.<sup>5</sup>

Kárixas patakunkteur, va; vura ká;n pe'krívkiřak takunktcúnkir, 'iknavaná'anammahatc pakunktcúraráti'. Va; vur ó·θ-vú·ytì 'uhipihikteúrar<sup>5a</sup> pa'as. 'Iváxra pa'uhíppi', pusakrí·vhářa. 'Icyánnihite vura takuníkyáv, patakunktcúraha'<sup>a</sup>k. Púyava; paté·cyánnihitcha'<sup>a</sup>k, xas takuníkxuk. Xas tí·kmú·k takun-písktu·y'rar, xas takunkíccap táf-

Then when they want to use the stems, they cut them up on a disk seat.<sup>4a</sup> Lots of times what they cut them up on and pound them up on is a disk seat. Sometimes they do it on a rock. They pick up a little bunch of the stems, they hold it down on the disk seat; they hold one end of the stems, and cut the other end off with a flint knife. They cut off a little at a time; they cut it off into little pieces.

When they finish cutting it up this way, they take a burning coal from the fire, then above the tobacco stems they move it all around, as they stoop down over it. They pack the fire on top of them. They hold it by the wood end [by the side that is not burning]. Then it gets hot, the tobacco stems, that have been cut up. Then they put the coal back in the fireplace.<sup>5</sup>

Then they pound it up, they pound it up on that same disk seat, with a little pestle. It is called tobacco stem pestle,<sup>5a</sup> that rock. The stems are dry, they are not hard. They make it fine when they pound it. Then when it is fine they rub it between their hands. They brush it together with their hands, then they tie it up in a piece of

<sup>4a</sup> For illustration of 'ikrívkiř, disk seats, see Pl. 11, c.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. description of the same method used for drying flaked leaf tobacco preparatory to putting it into the pipesack. (See p. 180).

<sup>5a</sup> For illustration of 'uhipihikteúrar, stem tobacco pestle, see Pl. 11, d.

fírápùhmú'uk. Va; vura kite mū' kunkíccapti'. Xas takun-píccun'va. Va; vura kite kuníp-pé'nti 'uhíppi'. Há·ri va; 'ihé-raha kuníycá'nti', xás va; kunihé-rati'.

Pa'uhíppi víra kite pakuníkteú'nti'. Va; 'u:m víra pu'-ikteú'ntíha pappíric. Va; vura kite pakunkupítí' kuníkxú'ktí pappíric tí·kmú'uk.<sup>6</sup>

### 5. Pé·krívkir

Pa'ávansas 'u·mkun vura nik 'íkrívkir kunikrívki·rtí·hváñik, 'ahup'íkrívkirhaník vúra, 'áhup vírahaník pamukun'íkrívkir. Há·ri k'aru vura pa'avansáxi·ttítcás va; ká;n takunípk'yú'ntákí'. Pamukun'áffùpmú'k sírik'yúnícás ta pe'krívkir. Va; ká;n to'pkú'ntákí'c pamukrívki·rak patuhé'rähá;k pa'ávansa'. Vur o'xúti': "Na; víra 'a'lvíári," pate'krívkirak 'up-kú'ntákí·criha'ak, patupihé'rähá;k. 'Asiktáva;n puva; kú'ntákutihárà pa'ávansa mukrívki·r.

Pamukun'íkrívrá'm'mák<sup>7</sup> va; ká;n 'u:m pe'krívkir 'utá'yhití', yó·ram 'ínná'ak. Há·ri vura 'í'm takun'í·θrúpük pe'krívkir va; ká;n 'í'm takunkú'nták.<sup>8</sup> Há·ri va; ká;n 'íkrívkirak 'a?' ávansa 'axí:te tó·stá'ksíp. Karu há·ri va; takunikteúnkir pa'uhíppi 'íkrívkirak.

Pe'krívkir 'u:m víra pu'ihrú'v-tíhap 'íkmaháterá'm, va; vura kuníshru'vtí papatúmkir, va; vura kunikrívki·rtí pamukun'íkmá-

buckskin. That is all they tie it up it in. Then they put it away. They just call it tobacco stems. Sometimes they mix it up with tobacco, to smoke.

The stems are all they pound. They never pound the leaves. All that they do is to crumple the leaves between their hands.

### (THE DISK SEATS)

The men used to sit on disk seats, on wooden disk seats; their disk seats were of wood. Sometimes the boys sat on them, too. With their skins<sup>6a</sup> the disk seats get to look shiny. A man sits on his disk seat when he takes a smoke. He thinks: "I am all it," when he sits up on the disk seat, when he takes a smoke. A woman does not sit on the man's disk seat.

It is the living house where there are lots of disk seats, in the yó·ram of the living house. sometimes they pack them outdoors, they sit on them outside. Sometimes a man [sits] on a disk seat and holds a child. And sometimes they pound up tobacco stems on the seats.

They never use disk seats in the sweathouse; what they use is pillows, what they use to sit on is their sweathouse pillows.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 93.

<sup>6a</sup> I. e., with their bare human skins, not referring to any skins worn.

<sup>7</sup> Or Pe'krívrá'm'mák.

<sup>8</sup> Or takunikrívki·r.

hatcrampatúmkir. Xá:s vura hitíha:n takunikrírihič, karixas va:ká:n takunikrívkiř. Há:ri k'yaru vura va:ká:n vura takunikrívkiř pakunkupatumkírahiti'. Karu há:ri 'íric vura patakuníkř'eri', kuntecivípI-θva 'ikmahátcrá:m 'í-ricák. Va:vura karixas 'a:kuníkř'crihtí patakunihé:r. Va:vura kité kùnkùpítí pakun'úrùrim'va, 'ikmahátcrá:m sul. Há:ri va:vuníppě:ntí papatúmkir 'ik-mahatcram'íkrívkiř. Va:vuníppě:ntí 'ikmaháterampatúmkir ka:ru 'ikmahatcram'íkrívkiř.

Kuna vura 'ā'pūnīte pakun-  
'ără·rahiti pa'asiktávă·nsà', pu-  
rafă·t vúra 'ikrívkirittiháp, taprá-  
ra vura kitc kunkrívkirittihánlk  
pa'asiktávă·nsà'. Va; vura kári-  
xas 'a'lવári kunirukú·ntă·kú", pa-  
'asiktávă·nsà', pasipnúkka;m kún-  
ví·ktiha'ak. Hå·ri karu vura  
vura 'a'l kuniháái, patcim up-  
øíøøe·cåhå'ak.

## 6. Pa'uhipihiktcú'rar

Há·ri pakunxútiha· kirítta<sup>a</sup>y,  
'ikrávárámű·k takuníkteur. Va;  
kumá'i·i paká·kkum tū·ppitcas  
pe·krávar. Páy k'ó·sámítcas pe·  
krávar ká·kkum. 'Uhiph·íkktcú-  
rar va; pó·θvú·ytí', 'iknamana-  
tunvé<sup>e</sup>tc. 'Ikrikvíkarak 'á? takun-  
θí·vtak pa'uhíppi'. Xas yu-  
hírimmű·k takunípkákpa'. Xas  
'ikteuraramű·k takuníkteur. Va;  
'u;m vúra xú;n pu'ikrávaratihap  
pe·ktcuraramű<sup>u</sup>k, 'uké·mmicahé·c  
paxú;n, 'ú·xhě<sup>e</sup>c. Va; vura kítc  
kumá'i·i kuníshrū·vtí pa'uhíppi  
kuniktcúraráti'. 'Imxaθakké<sup>e</sup>m,  
pa'ás, pa'uhíppi takuníktcúra-

Most of the time they tip them over on one side to sit on. And sometimes they sit down on them just as they use them for pillows. And sometimes it is the floor that they sit on; they sit around in the sweathouse on the floor. That is the only time they sit up whenever they smoke. The way they do is to lie around, when they are in the sweathouse. Sometimes they call the pillow the sweathouse's seat. They call it the sweathouse's pillow and the sweathouse's seat.

But the women just sit low; they do not use any kind of seat. The tule petate was all that they used to sit on. The only time the women sit on a high place is when they are weaving a big storage basket. Sometimes they even stand up when they are finishing it.

(THE TOBACCO STEM PESTLES)

Sometimes when they want [to make] lots, they pound them with a pestle. That's what they have some small pestles for. Some pestles are only this size [gesture at length of finger]. 'Uhipih*k*íktcúfar those little pestles are called. They put the tobacco stems on a disk seat. Then they cut them up with a flint knife. Then with a little pestle they pound them. They never pound acorns with that pestle, it would poison the acorns, it would taste bad. That's all they use it for, to pound tobacco.

raha'ak, xára vura 'ó·mxá·θti'. stems with. It smells strong, Yó·ram vúrà 'a? takunípθä·nták. that rock does, when they pound the tobacco stems [with it], it smells strong for a long time. They keep it up in the yó·ram.

An old tobacco stem pestle obtained from Yas,<sup>8a</sup> which formerly belonged to his father, is of smooth textured gray stone, 7 inches long,  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inches diameter at butt,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches diameter at top. The top is slightly concave. There is a decoration consisting of two parallel incised grooves  $\frac{3}{16}$ -inch apart spiraling downward in anticlockwise direction, circling about the pestle 7 times. A single incised line starts at the top and spirals down irregularly in the space between the double lines, ending after it circles the pestle twice.

Yas stated that a pestle with such decoration is never used by women. It is called 'ihé·raha'uhipih?iktcú·far, or 'ihé·raha'uhipih?iknavaná'anamahafc.

Of the design Yas said: 'Uvuxiθk'yurihvapaθravurúkkunihyahiti',<sup>9</sup> it is incised spiraling downward. From 'uvuxiθk'yúrihvà', it is incised, e. g., as some big money dentalia are. Or more carelessly, leaving out the idea of spiraling: 'Usássíppäθùkvà pe·ktcú·far, 'utáxxitcpä·θahiti', the pestle has a line going around it, it is incised around. Also 'uθímyá·kkúrihvà', lines it is filed in; 'uθímyó·nni·hvà', it is filed in running downward.

Yas volunteered of the pestle: 'Ikxariyá·hiv ve·ktcú·rarahañik, it is a [tobacco stem] pounder of the time of the Ikxareyavs.

#### 7. Pahú·t Pihne·ffitc po·kyá·n'nik, pa'ávansa 'u; m pu'ikrá·mtihé- càrà 'ikrávàrämü'uk

Pihne·ffitc múpá·ppuhañik: "Asiktáva:n 'u; m pó·krá·mti-  
hè'c." Kuntcú·phina·tihanik 'ik-  
mahátra'm hú·t 'ata Payá·s'ára  
kunkupíttihe'c, fá·t 'ata pakun-  
rámtihè'c. Kó·vúra panu'á·mti  
kó·vúra Pe·kxaré·yav va; muku-  
nipá·püháñik, Yá·s'ára va; páy  
kun'á·mtihe'c. Xas kunipítti-  
hañik: "Kuníkrá·mtihe;c paxxú·n

(HOW COYOTE ORDAINED THAT A  
MAN SHALL NOT POUND WITH  
AN ACORN PESTLE)

It was Coyote's saying: "It is woman who is going to pound [with a pestle]. They were talking over in the sweathouse what Humans are going to do, what they are going to use as food. Everything that we eat, all of it the Ikxareyavs said Human will eat. Then they were saying: "They will be pounding up acorns,

<sup>8a</sup> For illustration of this pestle see Pl. 11, d.

<sup>9</sup> Or 'utaxitck'yurihvapaθravurúkkunihyahiti'. Ct. 'upvapiró·ppí·θ-  
vuti' pa'ippa', 'a? upvo·turá·nnati', he (a goatsucker) spirals up the  
tree.

Yá·s?ára paxxú:n kuníkrá·mtì-hé·c." Xas yiθθ 'uppi:p: "Hú·t 'ukuphé:c xá·tik 'ávans 6·krá·mi'?" Xas Pihné·ffitc 'uppi:p: "Pú·háfa, 'ávansa 'u:m vura vár·tam 'uhýássùrō·vic 'iθvá·y-k'am. Vá·tam 'uhýássùrō·vic. Va: 'u:m paxxi:tc 'ukyá·ratihe'c. Huk 6·ypá·ymé'c? Xá·tik 'asiktáva:n 'u:m vúr úkrá·mti'. 'Asiktáva:n 'u:m puhú:n vúra kupáppi·kk'yúnà·hè·càrà. 'Ávansa 'u:m vur 'u'áppimtihe:c papáttásárahà', 'u'ákkùnvútihe'c, 'u'ahavick'yánvútihe:c karu vura 'á·m'ma. 'A:s va'á-vaha yítca:tc 'uky·áttihe:c pát-tásárahà'?"

Humans will be pounding up acorns." Then one said: "Why can not a man be doing it, be pounding?" Then Coyote said: "No; a man will have something long sticking off in front. It will be sticking off long. He will make a child with that. Where is he going to turn it to [to get it out of the way]? He might hit it. Let it be a woman that will pound. A woman in no way can hit herself. A man will be looking around for something to eat along with acorns; he will be hunting; he will be fishing for salmon, too. He will be getting together river food to eat along with the acorn soup."

VII. Pakumé·mus · pehērahás-sa<sup>a</sup>n pakó; 'ikpíhan karu vúra

(COLOR AND STRENGTH OF LEAF TOBACCO)

1. Pahú·t umússahiti pehērahás-sa<sup>a</sup>n

(COLOR OF LEAF TOBACCO)

Pakaríxi·thá<sup>a</sup>k va;<sub>2</sub> kári pakuníctú·ktí'. Pamusanímvay va;<sub>2</sub> káru vura hárí kunictúksá·ntí'. Pehērahaxítsa<sup>a</sup>n va;<sub>2</sub> kítc kúnic pakunxúti kírih.

When the leaves are green yet they pick them. Its yellowing leaves also they sometimes pick with the others. But the green tobacco leaves are those they want.

Pehēraha patakunsuváxra-há<sup>a</sup>k, kúnic tappíháhsá. Xá;<sub>2</sub>s kúnic vura 'ikxáramkúnic kúnic kumappíric. Pamússa;<sub>2</sub>n 'u;<sub>2</sub>m vura pírickyúnic, su<sub>2</sub> sánnak 'á·nkúnic 'usasíppi·θvá' va;<sub>2</sub> 'u;<sub>2</sub>m kúnic vátavkuníc. Va;<sub>2</sub> vúr ukupe·vaxráháhítí'. Va;<sub>2</sub> kári tasanímváyk'yúnic paxára to·tá·yhitihá<sup>a</sup>k. Hárí vura xár utá·yhití', hárí kuyrakhárinay 'utá·yhití', patta;<sub>2</sub>y takunikyá·ha<sup>a</sup>k.

When they dry the tobacco it gets stiff as it were. Then it is pretty near dark green color. The leaf is green, inside the leaf stringlike it runs along, that is lighter colored [than the leaf].<sup>1</sup> It dries that way. The longer they keep it the yellower it gets. Sometimes they keep it a long time, sometimes three years they keep it, if they make lots.

2. Pakó; 'ikpíhan pehēraha'

(HOW TOBACCO IS STRONG)

Pe·kpíhanha<sup>a</sup>k, pehēraha takunpí·p: "Ákkat,"<sup>2</sup> 'ákkat pux-x<sup>w</sup>itc pehēraha'." "Ikpíhan, 'ákkat," va;<sub>2</sub> mit vura kitc 'áxxa-kítc patcú·pha kuníhrú·vtihá<sup>a</sup>t, pámitva kunihé·ratihá<sup>a</sup>t. Púmit 'ipítihaphat 'ú'ux. Púmit 'ipítihaphat 'ú'ákkatti'. Kúna vura paffá;<sub>2</sub>t 'amakké·m takunpakát-káttaha<sup>a</sup>k, pakúnic xú;<sub>2</sub>n puvalyávaha<sup>a</sup>k, takunpí·p: "Ú'ux, 'u'ákkatti'."

When tobacco is strong they say: "It is strong-tasting, the tobacco is very strong-tasting." "It is strong, it has a bad taste," were the only two words they said. They never used to say 'ú'ux. But when they taste anything unsavory, like acorn soup that is not [leached] good yet, they say: "Ú'ux 'u'ákkatti'."

<sup>1</sup> Referring to the veins being lighter colored than the body of the leaf.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ákkat is also used of strong coffee, etc. It is the stem of the verb 'ákkat, to taste intr. used as an interjection.

Há·ri va; kunipítti': "Pehé·rah e·kpíhanha'a·k iθimkyak·ihé·raha'", mah·ritnihatečimtcáxxaha·ha' 'úmkü·kküti', mah·ritnihatečimtcáxxahaha 'úmkü·kküti pehē·raha'úhθa'a·m."

Pehē·rahasantírihcaha'a·k, pa-kari θúkkinkünícasha'a·k, viri kunipítti': "Va; yé·pca', ipútri·k ve·hē·raha', va; yé·pca', santírihca'."

Sometimes they say when tobacco is strong: "It is morning sun slope tobacco, the morning sun has shined on it, the morning sun has shined on that tobacco garden."

When they are broad tobacco leaves, when they are green ones, then they say: "They are good ones, it is shady place tobacco, they are good ones, they are broad leaves."

VIII. Pahú·t pakunkupa'íccun-  
vahiti pehē·raha'

(HOW THEY STORE TOBACCO)

1. Pahú·t ukupatá·yhahiti  
'í·nná·k

(HOW IT IS KEPT IN THE LIVING  
HOUSE)

Kárixas 'í·nná·k takunmáhyan  
'uhsípnú·kkám.<sup>1</sup> Yō·rám 'á·ta-  
kuntákkaraři. Va; 'u;m su?  
'uváxrá·htihé'<sup>ec</sup>. Pamuõxúppar  
'utarupramtcákkierihva vastá-  
rānmú'k. Va; 'u;m pússù?  
'ikré·mya 'ú·mmútihářà, sákriev  
'utárùprávahítì'. Há·ri táffirápù  
'ávahkám takun'í·xó·tarív, sip-  
nuk'ávahkam, va; 'u;m vúra  
su? 'uváxrá·htihé'<sup>ec</sup>, va; 'u;m  
púpasxáypé·ccařa su?.

Vúra ník 'uváxrá·htí', kuna vura  
puv"axnaháyá·tchihářà, puváx-  
rá·htihářà pùxx"ítc. 'Uváxrá·htí  
vúra ník patakumáhyá;n su?,  
'íffuθ patakunpím'mus. Yané·ka-  
va tupásxá·ypá'. Vúra pu'a·ytí-  
hap puxuthap 'uvaxnahinnú've<sup>ec</sup>.  
Va; kumá'i'i pakuníctü·ktí páká-  
ríxi·thá'k, va; 'um vura puvax-  
náhinnú·thářà. Kunipítti pakú-  
nic 'axváhahiti 'ávahkám va;  
kumá'i'i pavura hitiha;n kunic  
'ásxa<sup>ay</sup>. Va; vúra kítc kun'í·yá·ti  
xáy 'úpasxa<sup>ay</sup>. Va; kumá'i'i  
kun'í·xó·tarimti va;s pasípnú'k.

Pu'ásxay'íkyá·ttiháp pehē·ra-  
ha', pá·ù·mkún kunkupítti pa'ap-  
xantinnihite'ávansas, 'a's kún-  
í·vúrukti pamukun'íhé·raha'.

Vura pe·θá·n 'ihé·raha takun-  
máhyá·nnaravaha'<sup>ak</sup> fá·t vúra·vá,

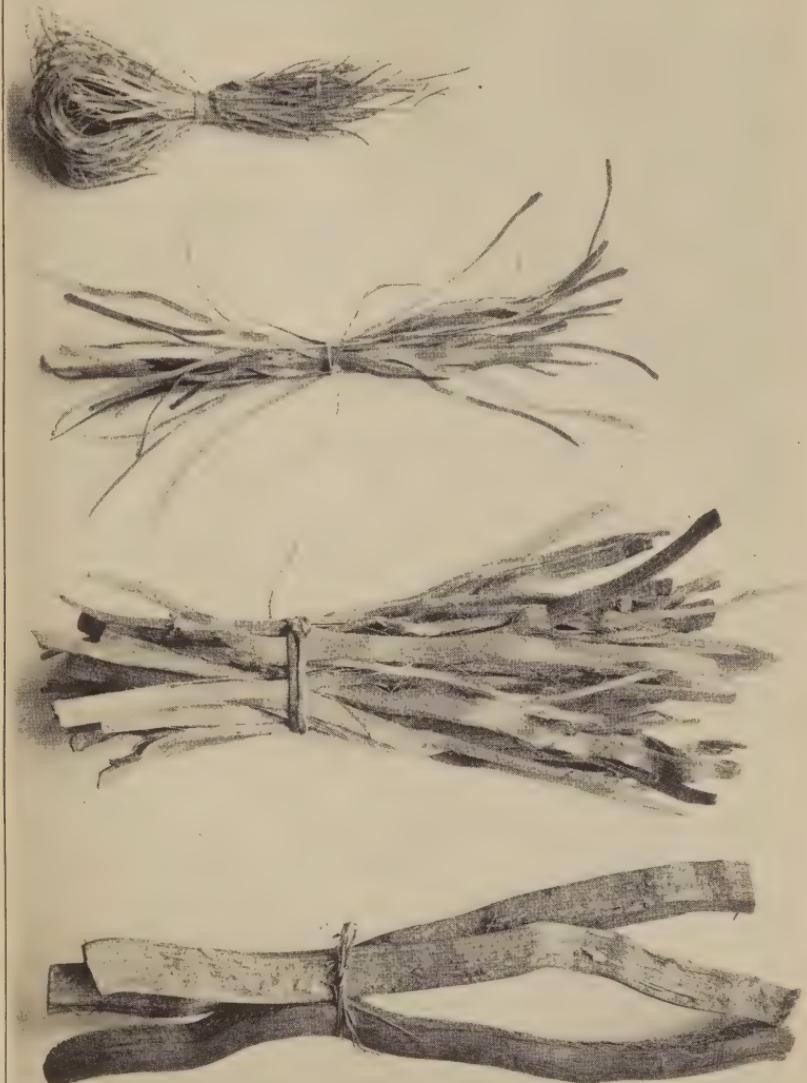
Then they put it into a tobacco  
storage basket in the living house.  
They hang it [the basket] above  
the yō·ram. It will be drying in  
there [in the basket]. Its cover is  
laced down with buckskin thongs.  
So the air will not get to it, it  
must be laced down tightly. They  
put a buckskin over it, over the  
basket, so it will be dry inside, so  
it will not be damp inside.

It gets dry, but it does not get  
too dry, it does not get very dry.  
It is dry when they put it in [in  
the storage basket]; when they  
look at it again it is damp. They  
are never afraid it will get too dry.  
That is what they pick it [the  
leaves] while still green for, so it  
never will get too dry. They say  
that because it is pitchy outside  
is why it is always dampish. The  
only thing they are afraid of is  
that it will get too damp. That  
is why they cover the basket with  
a deerskin.

They never dampen tobacco as  
the white men do, who put water  
on their tobacco.

If they put tobacco in anything  
once, they do not use it for any-

<sup>1</sup> For description of the tobacco storage baskets see pp. 103-126;  
for description of the upriver hat storage basket see pp. 127-131.



ROOTS OF JEFFERY PINE FOR BASKETRY

a, first splitting; b, second splitting; c, third splitting; d, strands prepared ready for weaving.

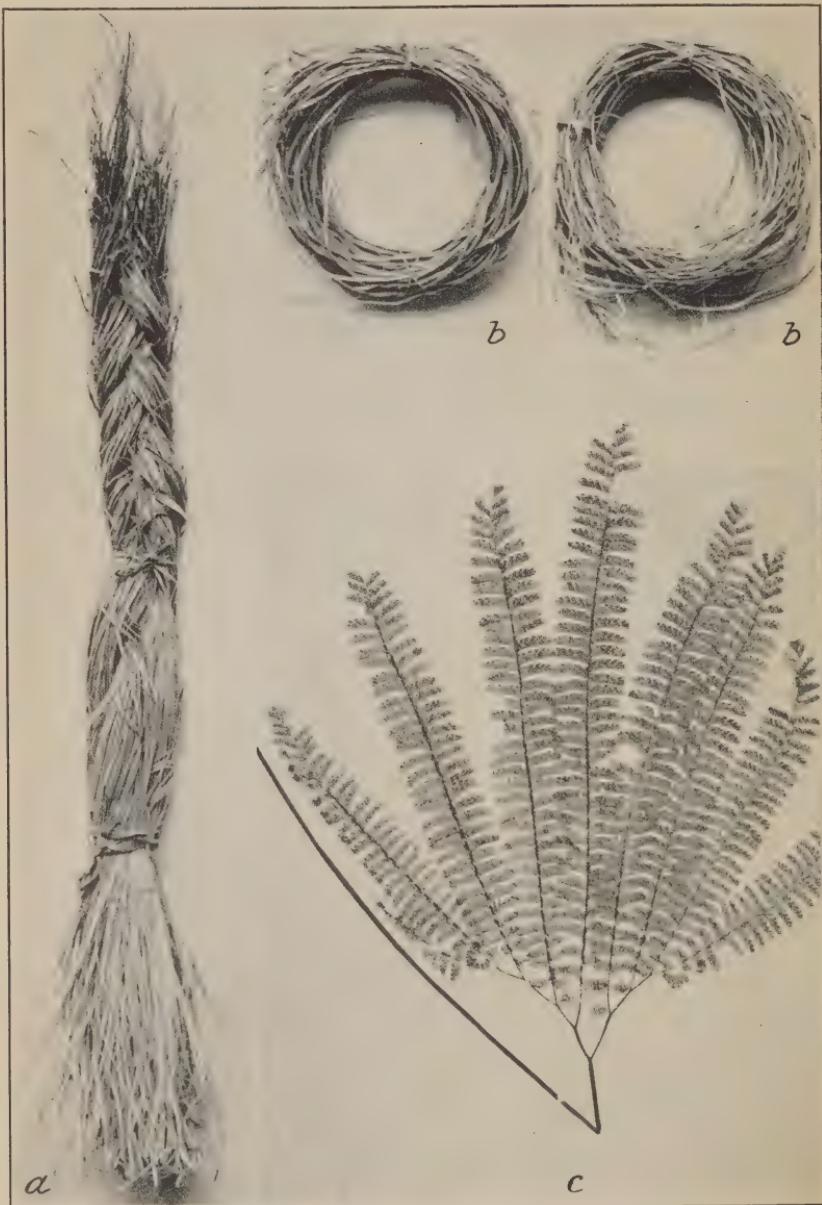
*a**b*

## CALIFORNIA HAZEL STICKS FOR BASKETRY

*a*, The ordinary hazel sticks; *b*, hazel stick tips salvaged from finished baskets, used for weaving small baskets.



BEAR LILY PLANT



a, Braid of Bear Lily leaves, prepared for sale or storage; b, coils of Bear Lily strands prepared for weaving overlay; c, maidenhair leaf

vura puffāt káru vura kumá'i'i thing any more. The thing pihrú'vtíhaþ. 'Imxaθakké'em.

Patakun'iccunva kó'vúra yíθ-θukánva pa'uhiþpi karu yíθθuk, karu pehé'raha yíθθuk, karu pa'úhic yíθθuk.

## 2. Pa'uhspnu'uk

(THE TOBACCO BASKET)

Most people do not know that the principal material that builds a Karuk basket is lumber. It is the shreds of the roots of the Jeffrey Pine (*Pinus ponderosa* Dougl. var. *jeffreyi* Vasey) that weave the basket, holding the foundation sticks together, faced in places with more delicate strands, white, black, or red, to produce the decoration. The process is a simple 2-strand twining, varied occasionally with 3-strand twining where strength is needed. The name of the pine-root strands is sárum. (See Pl. 13.)

The foundation consists usually of carefully chosen shoots of the California hazel (*Corylus rostrata* Ait. var. *californica*), gathered the second year after burning the brush at the place where it grows.<sup>2</sup>

The hazel sticks are called sárip. (See Pl. 14.)

The white overlay which the Indians call "white" is done with strands prepared from the leaves of the Bear Lily (*Xerophyllum tenax* [Pursh] Nutt), called panyúrar. (See Pls. 15; 16 a, b.)

The black overlay is the prepared stalks of the Maidenhair fern (*Adiantum pedatum* L.), called 'iknitápkir. (See Pls. 16, c; 17.)

The red overlay, which is not used in the tobacco basket the making of which is here described, is the filament of the stem of the Chain Fern (*Woodwardia radicans* Sm.), which has been dyed by wetting it with spittle that has been reddened by chewing the bark of White Alder (*Alnus rhombifolia* Nutt.).

Pe'hē'rahasípnuk va; vura  
kunkupavíkk'yahiti pasipnú'kkiθ  
kunkupavíkk'yahiti'. Pasipnú'k-  
kíθak 'u:m 'axrúh 'u'ururá'm-  
nīhvà', 'imθáttap karu vur  
'u'ururá'mnīhvà', pavúra kô.  
kúma'u:p pamukun'upíccípcà'.  
Va; 'u:m 'ikxurik'yákka:m kuni-  
kyá'tti pasipnú'kkiθ. Hå:ri vura  
'atikinvá'anammahatec 'uθxúp-  
parahiti pasipnú'kkiθ.

They make a tobacco basket like they do a money basket. In the money basket are kept money purses and woodpecker rolls, all kinds of their best things. They put big patterns on the money basket. Sometimes they cover a money basket with a small pack basket.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 63-64.

Kúna<sup>3</sup> 'u:m pehē rahasípnuk<sup>k</sup>  
 vura 'u:m pu'ikxurik'yákka<sup>m</sup>  
 'ikyáttiháp, kunxúriphiti vúra  
 kitc karu kunkutcitcvássihiti<sup>3</sup>.  
 Kunxúriphiti sárum xákka<sup>n</sup> karu  
 panyúrar, karu hár ikritápkir,  
 hárí "yumá ré'kritápkir."<sup>4</sup> 'U-  
 xúriphahiti vúra kitc, pehē rahasípnuk<sup>k</sup>,  
 kar 'ukutcitevássihahiti<sup>4</sup>. Va:<sup>5</sup> vúra kitc kunkupé'kxúrik'yá-  
 hiti pehē rasípnuk<sup>k</sup>. Vúra na:<sup>6</sup>  
 puwanámma 'ihé'rahasípnuk<sup>k</sup> 'ik-  
 xurik'yákka<sup>m</sup>.

But they do not put big patterns on the tobacco basket. They just vertical bar it and diagonal bar it. It is patterned with pine roots together with Bear Lily, or with Maidenhair stems, with "dead people's Maidenhair stems." A tobacco basket has vertical bar Bear Lily pattern, or a diagonal bar one. That is the way they make a tobacco basket. I never saw a fancy-patterned tobacco basket.

#### A. Pahú:t yi00úva 'uθvúyitti'hva pamucvitáva pasípnuk<sup>k</sup>

##### (NAMES OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE BASKET)

Sipnuk?íppaň, the top of the basket.

Sipnuk?ípanni<sup>1</sup>tc, the rim.

Sipnuk?ápmá<sup>a</sup>n,<sup>5</sup> the mouth of the basket, the aperture. Sipnuk?<ápmá<sup>a</sup>n'nak, in the mouth of the basket.

Sipnuk?á·tcip,<sup>6</sup> the sides of the basket.

Sipnuk?áffív, the bottom of the basket.

Sipnuk?afiví<sup>1</sup>te, the base, where the basket is started.

Paká:n to'pváram'ni, where the sides start upward.

Sipnuk?í'l<sup>c</sup>, the body of the basket, used of the central part of the basket in contradistinction to the top and the bottom; also the surface of the basket. Sipnuk?í·ccák, on the body or surface of the basket.

Sipnuk?ávahkam, sipnuk?ávahkamkaň, the outside of the basket.

Sipnuksú?kaň, sipnuksú?kamkaň, sipnú'kkán su?, the inside of the basket.

Sipnuk?íøxúppař, the cover of the basket.

Sipnuktaruprávar, the tie-thong of the basket.

#### B. Mitva pakumapihihní·ttcitcas pa'uhsípnuk<sup>k</sup> kuntá·rahitihař.

##### (WHAT OLD MEN HAD TOBACCO BASKETS)

In practically every house in the old times there was to be seen hanging one or more of the tobacco storage baskets. Imk'anvan remembers distinctly the tobacco baskets of the following Indians of the older generation.

<sup>3</sup> Or kuncí·ptci·phíkk'yó·ttí'.

<sup>4</sup> The last two words are added in fun, to point out the fact that Maidenhair fern was sometimes called dead people's Maidenhair fern.

<sup>5</sup> Sipnuk?ápmánti<sup>1</sup>m, the lips of the basket, would not be used.

<sup>6</sup> Sipnúkti<sup>1</sup>m would hardly be used.

*Near Hickox's place*

Yurih'íkkič, no mg., Tintin's father, at 'Akvattí'v, at George Leary's place upriver from Hickox's.

'Asamúxxač, no mg., Hackett's father, at 'Tynúttákate, just upriver of Hickox's place, downslope from Snappy's place.

*At Katimin*

'Ítcearay, no mg., at Katimin.

Tamtceírik, no mg., at Már'hiń'va, site of Fritz Hanson's store, at Katimin.

'Afkuhá'anammahač, mg. roots of some unidentified plant sp., at Yuhxavramníhač, at Katimin.

'Araráttcuý, slim person, Old Henry, at 'Astá'm'mitc, at Katimin.

*At Ishipishrihak*

'Ápsu"n, mg. snake. Old Snake, at Ticrám'a·tcip, site of Abner's house at Ishipishrihak.

Simyá'atc, no mg., at Ticrám'a·tcip, at Ishipishrihak.

Xutnássak, name of a bird sp., at Yunuktí'm'mitc, at site of Fritz Hanson's house at Ishipishrihak.

*At Yutimin*

Ye·fíppa'aň, no mg., Ike's father, at 'Asána:mkăřak, at Yutimin Falls.

*At Amekyaram*

Sána'aš, Yas's paternal grandfather, at Amekyaram.

Nú·kař, no mg., at 'Asámma'm, at Amekyaram.

'Íti·v'raθ, mg. invisible, at 'Asámma'm, at Amekyaram.

'Áhup řim'yússahitihaň, mg. looks like wood, at 'Ahtuyeúnnukič, at Amekyaram.

Paxvanípnihiteč, mg. little bush of the kind locally called "wild plum," Amekyaram Jim, at Amekyaram.

*Near Orleans*

'Asó·so'"o, no mg., at Káttiphířak, Old Ruben's place, near Orleans.

Vakirá'yav, mg. gets there good, Old Ruben, at Káttiphířak, near Orleans.

'Atráxxipuč, mg. having no arm (his arm was cut off at the sawmill formerly at the mouth of Perch Creek), at Taxaθúfkářa, the flat upstream of the mouth of Perch Creek.

'Iktú·kkíricuč, no mg., Sandy Bar Bob's father, at Ticánni'č, Camp Creek.

Vurâ'n, hooker with a stick, Sandy Bar Bob's paternal uncle, at Ticánni'k, Camp Creek.

Hutchutckássat, mg. having his hair like a nest, Sandy Bar Bob, at Kasánnuki:k, Sandy Bar.

*At Redcap*

'Ítxu":te, no mg., at Vúppam, at the mouth of Redcap Creek.

C. Pahú:t payé:m 'u:m víra yiθ takunkupé:kyá:hiti pa'uhsip- nu":k (HOW NOW THEY ARE MAKING TOBACCO BASKETS DIFFERENT)

Payváhe:m sárip vura ká:kum kunvikk'yarati', sáripmúrax vífa, kunipítti 'ihé:rahasípnu":k. Kunxúti kiri kinikváric. Púva: vura 'u:m pi'é:p vavíkk'ahaña.

Nowadays some people weave hazel sticks, just nothing but hazel sticks; they say it is a tobacco basket. They just want to sell it. It is not an old style weave.

D. Pa'uhsipnuk'íθxúppa:, pahú:t ká:kum yiθθáva kumé:kyav pa'uhsipnuk'íθxúppa: (THE TOBACCO BASKET COVER; HOW TOBACCO BASKET COVERS ARE VARIOUSLY MADE)

Ká:kum tiníhyá:ttcás peθxúppa:, karu ká:kum 'afivyít-tecihsa' 'atikinvatunv'e:tc 'úθvú:y-ytí', 'uhsipnuk'íθxúppa:. Karu ká:kum múnukite kúnic, kúnic múnukite. 'Ávahkam vura kúnic kitc 'uθí:vtákku":, múru kúnic po'tcí:vtako'tc.7 Va:vura kúnic kunkupé:θxúppahiti kipa vura murukmú:k takuniθxúp-paha:k sipnúkká:m'mák.

Some of the covers are kind of flat ones, and some with sharp top, which are called little pack-basket tobacco basket covers. And some are like a little plate basket. The plate basket rests on top, is just on there.<sup>7</sup> They cover it in the same way that they cover a big storage basket with a plate basket.

E. Pahú:t kunkupe:θxúppahitiha-nik pa'uhsípnu:k táffirápùhmú:w'k

(HOW THEY USED TO USE BUCK-SKIN AS A COVER FOR A TOBACCO BASKET)

Há:ti pe:θxuparfí:ppùxhá:a:k, táf-firapu 'ávahkam 'uθxúppàrähiti'.

Sometimes if it [a tobacco basket] has no cover, they cover a piece of buckskin over it.

<sup>7</sup> Mg. that it does not fit over top of the sides of the basket but just rests on top of the mouth.

F. Pahú't kunkupé'krú'ppaθahi-tihanik táffirapu pa'uhsip-nuk'íppankam.

Há·ri sipnuk'íppankam táf-firapu 'úkrú'ppaθahiti'. Pú·vic kunic 'ukyá·hahiti pa'uhsípnu"u·k. 'Á·kam tasirapuhpú·vic, 'áffiv-kam 'u·m sípnu"u·k. 'Íppankam 'úkrú'pkáhiti pamukíccapar.

(HOW THEY USED TO SEW BUCK-SKIN ON TOP OF A TOBACCO BASKET)

Sometimes a piece of buckskin is sewed around on top of the basket. The tobacco basket is made like a sack. The top is a buckskin sack, the bottom is a basket. At the top its tiestring is sewed on.

G. Pahú't kunkupavíkk'yahiti pa'uhsípnu"u·k

(WEAVING A TOBACCO BASKET)

The Karuk-Yuruk-Hupa type of basketry is described by Goddard<sup>8</sup> and by Kroeber,<sup>9</sup> but a detailed account, in Indian, of the making of one of these baskets is here presented for the first time. This account was dictated by Imk'anvan as a tobacco basket was actually made, from the time the warp sticks were first held together to the tying on of the finished cover, and so is doubly valuable, since mistakes and misunderstandings were avoided. The basket which was made is shown in its finished stage in Plate 25, *a*, and in its making in Plates 18 to 24, inclusive. The texts here included form part of a large group of texts covering completely the subject of the basketry of these tribes.

a. Pahú't kunkupa'áffé·hiti pa'uhsípnu"u·k, pahú't kunkupatáyí·θ-hahiti'

(HOW THEY START THE TOBACCO BASKET, HOW THEY LASH THE BASE)

Plates 18 to 22, inclusive, illustrate the method of starting the tobacco basket, the lettering in the plates corresponding to the letters heading the sections below.

## A      B      C      D      E      F      G

'Áxxak taniphí·c piccí·tc pas-sárip, xákkarari k'yú·k 'u'íkk'yú-

I put together two hazel sticks with their tips pointing in oppo-

<sup>8</sup> Goddard, Pliny Earle, Life and Culture of the Hupa, University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, vol. 1, no. 1, Berkeley, Sept. 1903, pp. 38-48.

<sup>9</sup> Kroeber, A. L., Basket Designs of the Indians of Northwestern California, op. cit., vol. 2, no. 4, June 1904, pp. 105-164.

vūtī'<sup>10</sup>, va; kunkupa'áffe·hití'. Xas kúkku;m 'áxxak tanipl·cař, va; vúr ukupitti', va; vur úpθā·n-tùnvutí kúkku;m, kúkku;m vura va; xákkarari kyú;k 'u'ipánhi-vuti'.<sup>11</sup> Kúkku;m vura va; tani-k'yupe·phí·crihaha', pí;θ tu'árihič. Sákri;v ní'axayteakkierichtí', xay 'upiccánnā·n'và. Kúttutukam ni-'axaytcákkierichtí'.

## B

Xas pí;θ k'yúkku;m tanipaphít-tak 'ávahkam, 'u'íkk'yúkáràtí', va; vura 'ukupa'ik'yuppl·vahiti pap-pí;θ, yíθθu kú; kun'íkk'yúvútí'. 'Ávahkam pí;θ takun'íkk'yukar. Karixas takuyrakinívk; passárip, xas ik yá;s tcími passarum nina-kavárā·víc. Súlkamhe;c pí;θ k'yaru 'ávahkam pí;θhe'c passárip. Xas pí;θ 'ávahkam taniphíttak, k'yaru súrukam pí;θ.

Va; kó· 'ipeú·nkinitcas kunik-yá·tti', pakó· 'áffihe'c.<sup>12</sup> Pakunxutiha;k ní·namitche;c pasíp-nu"k, 'ipeú·nkinitcas va; 'u;m kunikyá·tti pasarip'áffi. Va; ká;n vármas kun'íkk'yuti', patu'ivsripk'yúrivaha'ak, púva; 'u;m 'a; 'ivyihura·tiha;p pe'pcú·nkini-

site directions, they start a basket that way. Then I put two more together in the same way, they lie together again, again the tips are pointing outward to both sides. I put them together again in the same way, then there will be four. I hold them tight, so they will not get mixed. I hold them in my left hand. [See Pl. 18.]

## B

Then I put four more on top of these, crosswise, these four lying together in the same way, running different directions. They put four crosswise on top. Then there are already eight, then I am going to put the pine roots over them. Four will be inside [the basket], and outside [the basket] there will be four. I put four on top and four underneath.

According as they make them short [referring to the overlapping], so will the bottom be. When they want to make a small storage basket, they make the hazel-stick bottom short ones. They splice long sticks in there, where they [the butt ends of

<sup>10</sup> Lit. they have their heads, i. e., their tips in the case of hazel sticks, pointed in a certain direction. Cp. húka kun'íkk'yúvútí', which way are their heads pointed?, e. g., asked as one enters a strange house in the dark where Indians are sleeping on the floor at the time of the New Year ceremony, for fear one might step on somebody's head.

<sup>11</sup> Or 'u'íkk'yúvútí', the two verbs are used as synonyms.

<sup>12</sup> The overlapped section of the 8 sticks is usually considerably smaller than the bottom of the basket.

tcas pa'áffiv. [ Kuníppénti 'afívkír.<sup>13</sup>

the overlapped sticks] come to an end, the short ones never run up [the side of the basket]. They call them [the overlapped sticks of the bottom] affívkír. [See Pl. 18.]

## C

Va; píccí:p niynakaváratti papiθ passárip va; po'súlkam-he;c passípn'u;k.

Tanítáyiθha' <sup>14</sup> 'ássak tanipúθar passárum pasarum?ixxaxapu'. 'ík'yam po'áshítiha'a;k, va; ká:n tanipúθa:r. 'Inná:k 'ássipak 'a:s niθrírináti', teém-yáteva 'a:s nipívúrukti pavik. Xas yíθa tani'ú'ssip. Pava-ramé·ci:p passárum va; tani-táyav.

Kíxxumnípa;kam passárip va;ká:n tani'aramsí:prin pataniyнакávára'. Tívap kú:k tani'ic-cipma passárum.

## C

First I lash together the four sticks that are going to be on the inside of the basket.

I lash the base. I soak the pineroots, the pineroot shreds, in water. I soak them outdoors at the spring. I have water in the house in a bowl basket. I put water on them every once in a while. Then I pick one up. I choose a good long one.

I start lashing at a corner between the hazel sticks. I run the pineroot strand across diagonally. [See Pl. 19.]

## D

Pí:θsúlkam 'u'áhō·ti', píθ passárip kó:vúra tanicíkk'yás'r. Karixas kúkkum tívap kú:k tanipíccipma' 'ávahkamka:n.

Then it runs underneath four, I take in all four hazel sticks. Then I run it diagonally across again on top. [See Pl. 19.]

<sup>13</sup> Special term for the area of overlapped hazel sticks at the bottom of a basket, lit. what they make the bottom on. E. g., somebody asks where my hazel sticks are, and I answer: ta'íp va; ni'afívkírat, I already started to make the bottom on them. Cf. ta'íp va; ni'áffiv, I already started the bottom of a basket. 'Afívkír is synonymous with sarip?áffiv, hazel stick bottom.

<sup>14</sup> Lit. I make a cacomite, *Brodiaea capitata* Benth. Why this term is applied to the act of lashing the base of a basket together is not known; possibly the result looks like a cacomite bulb.

## E

Yíθθa passárip, papiccítc kumassárip taniyánkka<sup>a</sup>r.<sup>15</sup> Papi-ci'tesárip kumá'ā'tcip va;<sup>b</sup> taní-yú'nnupri'.

## F

Xas kúttutükam kú:k tanipí-yú'n'ma.<sup>16</sup> Karixas iθyú'kkukam kú:k tanipíccipma passárum. Papici'tesárip muppí'mate<sup>17</sup> va;ká:n taníyú'nnupri'.<sup>18</sup>

## G

Karixas tani'ú'v'rín. Karixas tívap<sup>19</sup> kú:k tani'ú'v. Pa'ifuθsa-rippí'mate va;ká:n taníyú'n-kúri.

## H

Xas tanipí'vrin k'yúkkum. Xas kúkkum iθyú'k tani'íccip-k'yar,<sup>20</sup> tanipiynákka;r kúkkum.

## I

Xas kúkkum tani'ú'v'rín. Xas tívap tani'íccipma'. Xas taníyú'nkuri kuyrakansarippí'm-mate.

## E

Then I run it around one stick, the first stick. I put it through between the first and the second sticks. [See Pl. 19.]

## F

Then I turn it [a quarter turn] to the left. Then I run the pineroot strand straight across. I put it through between the first and the second sticks. [See Pl. 19.]

## G

Then I turn it over. Then I put it across diagonally. I insert it between the second and third sticks. [See Pl. 19.]

## H

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it straight across again, I run it around [through] again. [See Pl. 19.]

## I

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it diagonally across, then I insert it between the third and the fourth sticks. [See Pl. 20.]

<sup>15</sup> Or tani'ú'v'raθ, I pass it under.

<sup>16</sup> Or tu'íccipk'yar, it runs across.

<sup>17</sup> Lit. next to the first stick.

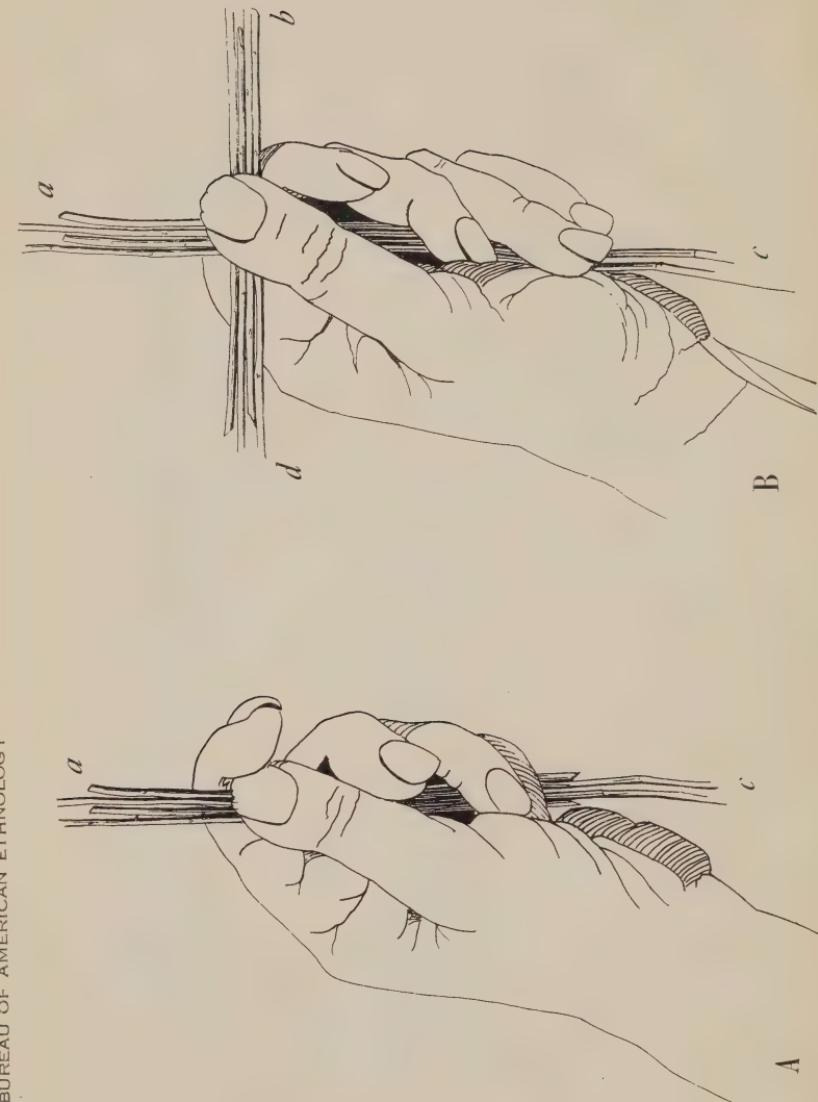
<sup>18</sup> Or vo'kupa'áhō'ti', it runs.

<sup>19</sup> Here used to indicate not from corner diagonally to corner, as it has previously been used, but diagonally from the interstice between first and second sticks on one side to that between second and third sticks on the opposite side.

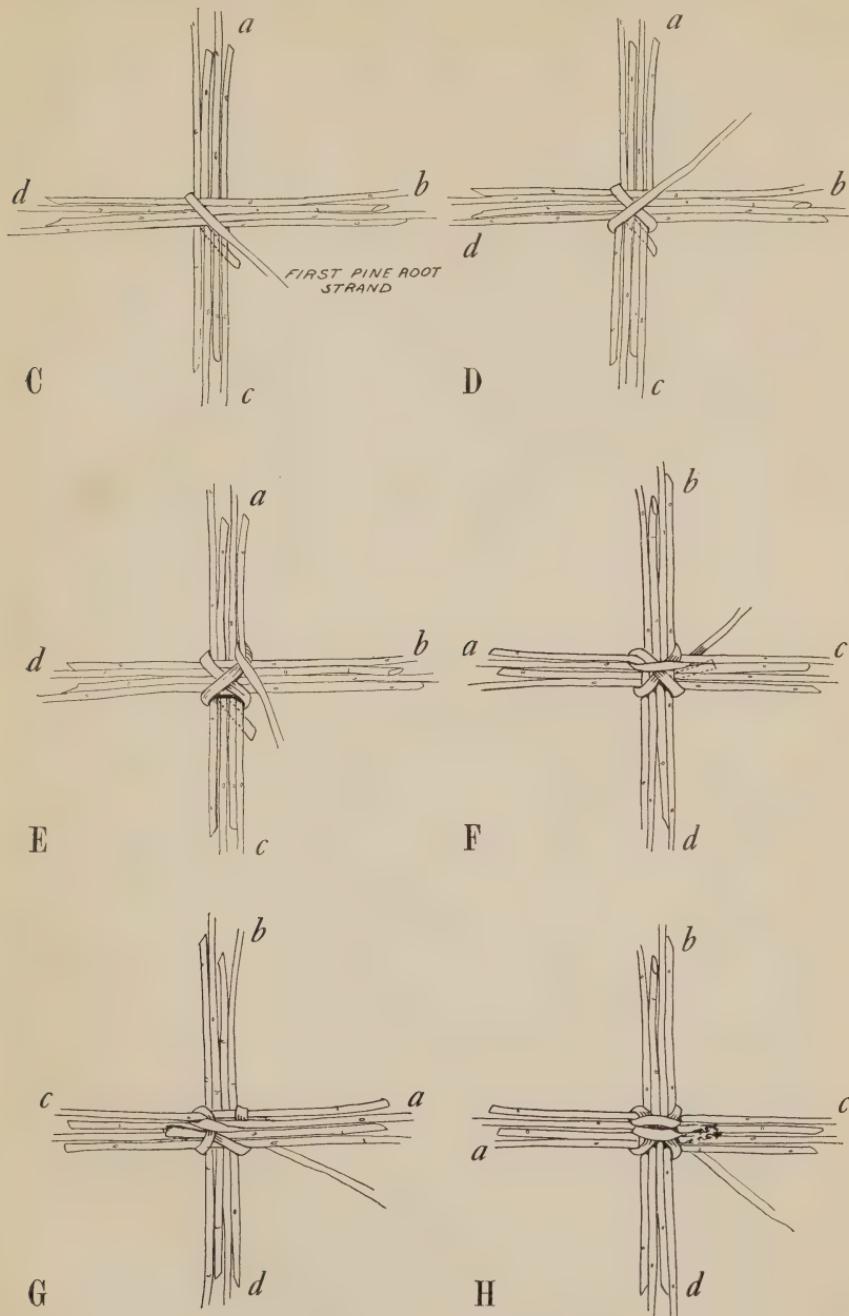
<sup>20</sup> Or tanipíhyá:kka;r, but this usually refers to larger objects.



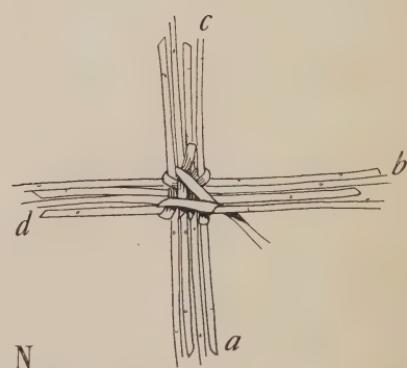
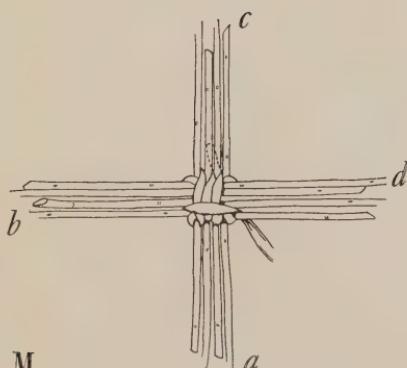
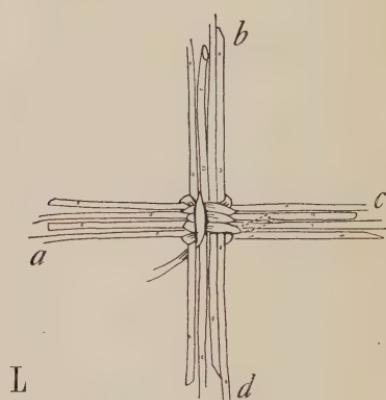
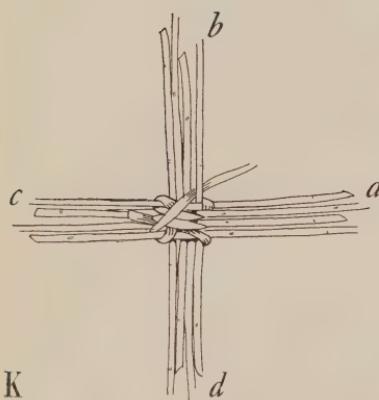
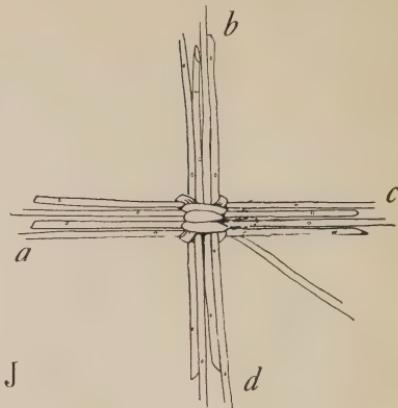
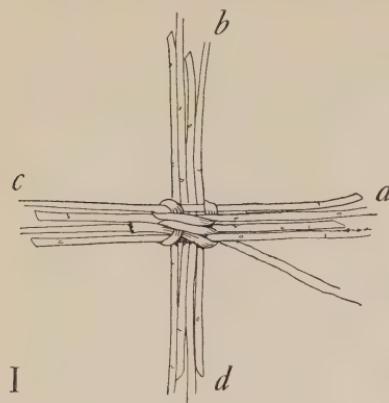
a, Twined bunch of maidenhair stems; b, iris twine for twining same; c, stick with split end through which maidenhair stems are pulled before they are split; d, bunch of reddish backs of maidenhair stems, split from the fronts and to be thrown away; e, bunch of fronts prepared for weaving; f, bundle of maidenhair stems, not twined



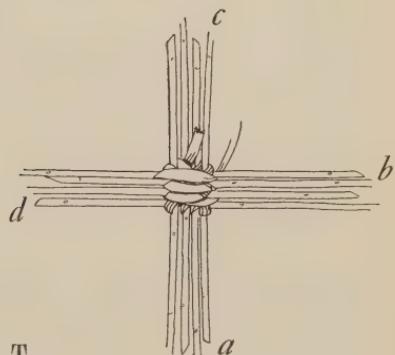
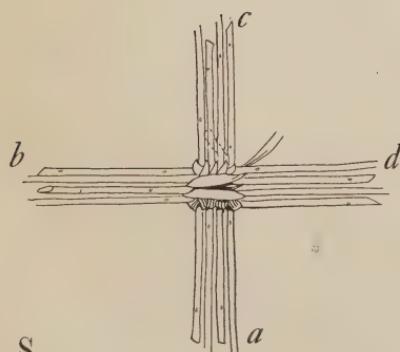
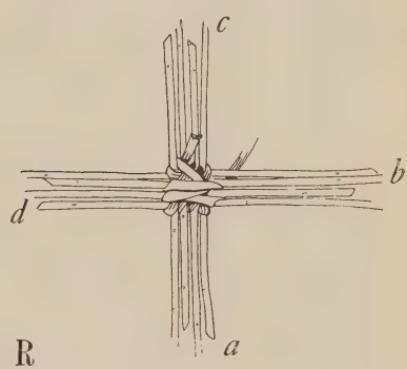
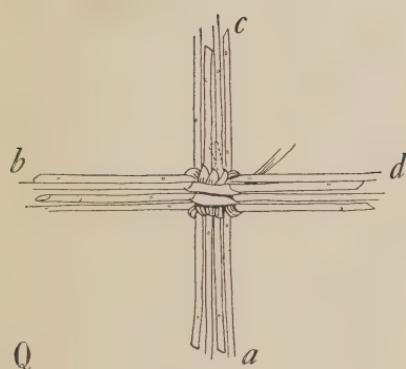
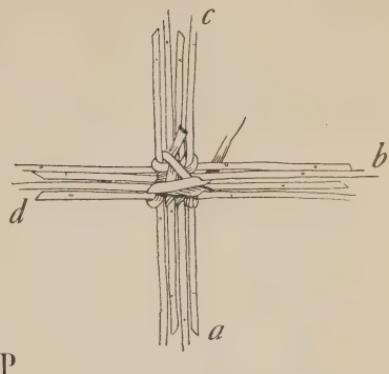
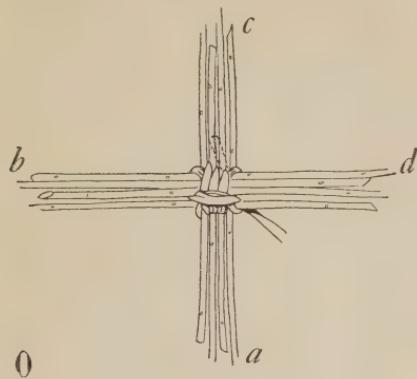
FIRST START OF A TOBACCO BASKET



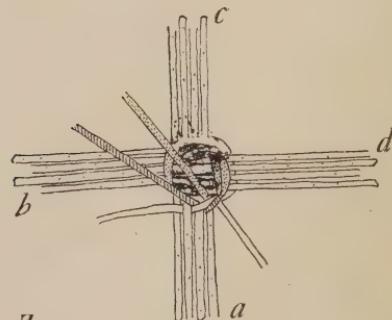
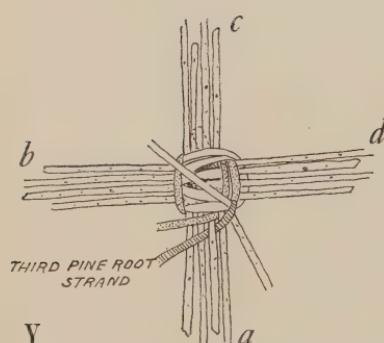
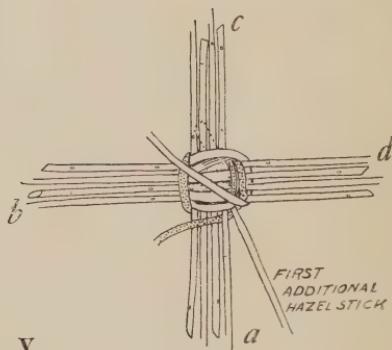
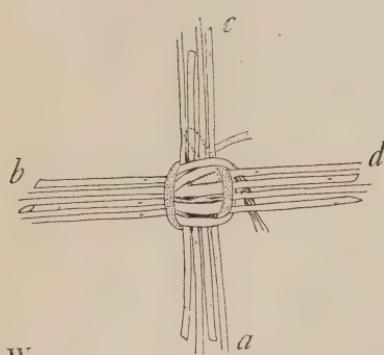
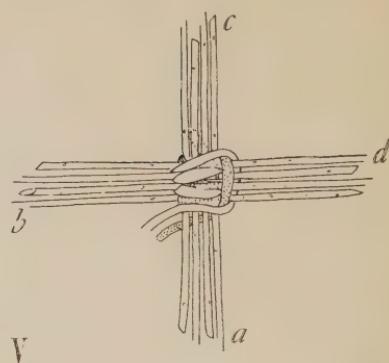
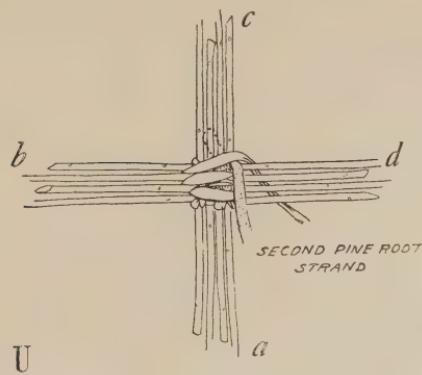
STAGES IN WEAVING TOBACCO BASKET



STAGES IN WEAVING TOBACCO BASKET



STAGES IN WEAVING TOBACCO BASKET



STAGES IN WEAVING TOBACCO BASKET

## J

Xas kúkku:m tanipú:v'rin.  
Xas iθyárük tani'iccipk'ar. Xas kuyrakansárip piθvakansárip xák:k:n mukún?á:teip taníyú:nnupri'.

b. Passú:kam vassárip va:taku-niynakavára:m'mar

Sú:kam tanipíkya'a:r, panitá:yí:θhití'.<sup>21</sup> Ávahkam kuna tcími-he'e:c,<sup>22</sup> pakú:kam 'u:ávahkám-he:e pasípnú:m'k. Payé:m vúra va:t hitíha:n va:kú:kam 'u:ávahkamhití', pakú:kam 'u:ávahkamhitíhe'e:c. Pakú:kam na:ávhivuti'. Puna'ú:vrínatiha:fá vura payvá-he'e:m.

c. Xas va:vura kuniynakavá-rá:ti k'yúkku:m

## K

Kúkku:m tanipú:v'rin. Tcimi niynakavára:vic pa:ávahkam pí:k 'íkk'yukáratiháñ.<sup>23</sup> Tívap tani'iccipma'. Karixas va:papicci'te muppí:matc passárip taníyú:nnupri'.

## L

Kúkku:m va:kari tanipú:v'rin. 'Itcyú:kinuyá:tc tani'iccipk'ar. Papici'tcsárip muppí:matc va:ká:n taníyú:nnúp'ri.

## M

Karixas kúttutükam kú:k tani-píyú:n'ma'.

## J

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it straight across. Then I insert it between the third and the fourth sticks. [See Pl. 20.]

(THEY FINISH LASHING THE INSIDE STICKS)

I have finished lashing the inside [group of sticks]. The outside [group of sticks] I now in turn am going to lash, where the outside of the basket is going to be. The side that is up now is going to be the top of the basket. That side faces me now. I do not turn it over any more.

(HOW THEY CONTINUE LASHING)

## K

Then I turn it over again. I am about to lash the outside four that run across. I run it diagonally across again. Then I insert it between the first and second sticks. [See Pl. 20.]

## L

Then I turn it over again. I run it straight across. Between the first and the second sticks I insert it. [See Pl. 20.]

## M

Then I turn it a [quarter of a turn] to the left. [See Pl. 20.]

<sup>21</sup> Ct. pani'áffvti', which although used as a synonym of panítá:yí:θhití', when referring to starting a basket, means to weave the entire bottom, not merely to lash the base.

<sup>22</sup> Or kúnahe'e:c for kuna tcímihe'e:c.

<sup>23</sup> Or pa:ávahkam kumáppi:θ pa:íkk'yukáratiháñ.

## N

Karixas tani'ú·v'rín. Karixas kúkku:m 'iθyú· kú:k tani'íccipma', taníyú'n'ma.

## N

Then I turn it over. I run it across again, I put it through. [See Pl. 20.]

## O

Karixas kúkku:m tanipú·v'rín. Karixas kúku:m vúra 'iθyú· kú:k tanipíccipma', va: 'u:m kári tati-nihyá'te. Há:ri paniynakavá-ra:ti passárum k'yákum 'álvári, puttirihitiha:ra; va: kumá'i:i Pa'-axákyá: nipiynákká:ratí'.

Há:ri va: ká:n kúkku:m<sup>24</sup> tanipíccipiv'raθ, 'ípa pícci:p ni'íccipiv'raθat, papu'im'ustihayá:ha:k pícci'p, papukó:ha:a:k pícci'p.

## O

Then I turn it over again. Then I run it across still another time, so it will be flat. Sometimes some of the pineroot strands I am putting around are too high, not flat; that is why I lash it around twice.

Sometimes I run it around a second time where I ran it around before, in case it does not look good the first time, if it is not right-sized the first time. [See Pl. 21.]

## P

Kárixas kúkku:m tanipú·v'rín. Karixas tívap kú:k tanipíyu'n'ma, pa'ifusárip muppí:m'mate.

## P

Then I turn it over again. Then I insert it diagonally across, between the second and the third sticks.

## Q

Karixas, kúkku:m tani'ú·v'rín. 'Itcú:kinuyá:te kú:k tani'íccipma'.

## Q

Then I turn it over again. I run it straight across. [See Pl. 21.]

## R

Karixas kúkku:m tani'ú·v'rín. Kúkku:m 'iθyú· kú:k tanipíccipma', va: 'u:m kumá'i:i 'imustihaya:yá:tche'c.

## R

Then I turn it over again. I run it across another time, so it will look better. [See Pl. 21.]

## S

Kúkku:m tani'ú·v'rín. Karixas tívap kú:k tanipiyú'n'ma, kuyrá:k passárip muppí:m.

## S

I turn it over again. I insert it diagonally across, between the third and the fourth sticks. [See Pl. 21.]

<sup>24</sup> Or 'axákyá:a:n, two times.

## T

Karixas kúkku:m tanipú:v'rín.  
'Ibýú:kyatc<sup>25</sup> vura tani'ccipk'ar.

Pakú:kam 'usú:kamhitihe'e,c,  
payé:m va: 'ávahkamtah.

d. Pa'ávahkam vassárip kúna  
takuniyнакavárā:m'mar

Xas 'ávahkam va: kúna tani-  
píkya:r passárip panitáyi'θhiti',  
papí:θ pakú:kam 'u'ávahkam-  
he'e.c.

e. Yíθθa takunipvíkkirō:piθva',  
pí:θ passárip takunpicríkk'as'rар

U V W. (See Pl. 22)

Karixas kúkku:m tanipú:v'rín.  
Pakú:kam 'u'ávahkamhitihe'e,c,  
payé:m va: 'ávahkamtah, hití-  
ha:n 'u'ávahkamhitihe'e.c.

Karixas 'iθā:n nipvíkkirō:piθuti pitcvámmahite nipicvík-  
k'asrarati passárip. 'Itcā:nnitc  
yura va: tanik'upávī:kro:vaha'.  
'Itcā:nnitc vúra 'upvápirō:piθuti',  
tanipvíkkirō:piθ'va. Pí:θ nipicerík-  
kasráratí', pí:θ vúra passárip.  
'Itcā:nnitc vúra nipvíkkirō:piθutí'.

Panitáyi'θharati va: vur usá:m-  
kúti', va: vura nivikk'yare'e.c. Va:  
ká:n 'upihyáruprámtí tím passá-  
rum.<sup>26</sup> Karixas yíθθa kuma tanih-  
yákkuri passárum. Kunic taniy-  
pù:θipù:θ 'áxxak vura yítca:tc  
passárum, 'iθā:n vúra pataniypù:  
θipù:θ, va: 'u:m puntaránná:mhi-  
tihára, karu va: 'u:m pu 'ipvð:n-  
núpramtihiára. Pa'ípa mū:k ni-

## T

Then I turn it over again. It  
is straight across that I run it.

What is going to be the inside  
of the basket is on top now.  
[See Pl. 21.]

(THEY FINISH LASHING THE OUT-  
SIDE STICKS)

So I finish lashing the other  
outside warp sticks, the four that  
will be outside of the basket.

(THEY WEAVE ONE COURSE, TAK-  
ING IN FOUR STICKS AT A TIME)

U V W. (See Pl. 22)

Then I turn it over again.  
What is going to be the outside  
of the basket is on top now, it is  
going to be on top all the time  
[from now on].

Then I two-strand twine once  
around taking in four sticks at a  
time. I two-strand twine around  
thus just one course. It takes in  
four sticks at a time, I weave  
around once. I take in four at a  
twining, four sticks. I just two-  
strand twine around once.

What I am lashing with is not  
all used up, with it I am going to  
two-strand twine. The pineroot  
strand sticks out at the corner.  
Then I introduce a new pineroot  
strand. I twist the two pineroot  
strands together, just one twist  
around, so it will not show (where  
I introduced the second strand)  
and so it will not come loose again.

<sup>25</sup> Or 'itcyu:kinuyá:tc.

<sup>26</sup> See T, pl. 21.

táyi·θitiháf, va; mū'k nícrípihti', pa'íffuθ patanihyákkuri passárum, Su'l kamkam 'u'áhō·ti pa'ípa nitáyi·θharati',<sup>27</sup> papicci·tc·rícríkk'yúri, pa'ípa niyákkurihat passárum 'ávahkamkam 'u'áhō·ti'. Pí·θ passárip mu'ávahkam 'iθyú'k tu'fcipk'yáf yíθθa passárum, karu yíθθa passárum sú'l kam. Yíθθa kuna to ssúrukam<sup>28</sup> yíθθa tu'ávahkam va; panikupe·c·ríkk'yúrf·vahiti', yíθθa kuna tasa·ripsúruk, yíθθa kuna tasarip·ávahkam, 'áxxak pakun·áhō·ti passárum.

Kíxumnípa;k xas patanicríkk'yúri. Karixas va; 'upávahkamputi passárum 'ípa<sup>29</sup> sú'l kam, patanicríkk'yúriha'a;k, karu va; to psú'l kam pa'ípa 'ávahkam.

'Iéá'n páy nik'yupáví·krō·vahiti' karixas patani'a'av.

f. Yá·stí·k'yam kú;k takunví·kma,

Yá·stí·k'yam kú;k taniví·kma'.<sup>30</sup> Hár'i vura kú;k kúttutukam kú;k kunví·kmùti'. 'Áxxa kite vura mit pani'a'púnmutihat pamita va; kunkupavíkk'yahitiháf. Mahó'n'nin<sup>31</sup> va; mit yíθθa', karu 'As'úttacañate<sup>32</sup> va; mit yíθθa'; kuniñítti vura ta'y kúttutukam kú;k kunví·kumtihañik. Kó·vúra mit 'utí·θhina·tihat pamukún'vik.

<sup>27</sup> It is a matter of chance which strand goes across on top and which underneath. Sometimes the twisting is omitted.

<sup>28</sup> Or to ssú'l kam.

<sup>29</sup> Or pa'ípa.

<sup>30</sup> Old Karuk as well as Eng. way of expressing the direction of the weaving = in clockwise direction.

<sup>31</sup> Of obscure mg., Sally Tom.

<sup>32</sup> Mg. packing a heavy load of water, Lizzie Abels.

I make firm the newly introduced pineroot strand with the same strand that I lashed with. The one that I lashed with runs underneath [the four sticks] at the first taking-in, the one that I introduced runs across on top. One pineroot strand runs across on top of the four sticks, and one underneath. One strand goes under and one over, that is the way I two-strand twine, one goes under the hazel sticks, one goes over, the two pine root strands run along.

At the corners, I cross the strands. Then the pine root strand that was underneath [in the previous taking-in] runs on top, when I cross them, and that which was on top runs underneath.

I two-strand twine once around in this manner, then I start to three-strand twine. (See Pl. 22).

(THEY WEAVE TO THE RIGHT)

I always weave to the right. Sometimes some people weave to the left. I only knew two who wove that way. Mahó'n'nin was one, and 'As'úttacañate was one; they say there used to be several that wove to the left. All of them produced poor weaving.

*g. Pahú·t piccí·tcunkupa'ávara-hiti'* (HOW THEY TWINE WITH THREE STRANDS THE FIRST TIME)

X Y Z (See Pl. 22)

Paká:n tanipvíkkiró·piθvaha'a<sup>k</sup>, va:<sup>a</sup> ká:n pani'áramsiprivti'. Kix-xumnípa:k ni'áramsiprivti'.

Paká:n ni'áramsi·privti piccí·tc<sup>33</sup>, va:<sup>a</sup> ká:n pe'pvíkmúramhe'e<sup>c</sup>. Pé'pvíkmúram tanípví·kmaha'a<sup>k</sup>, va:<sup>a</sup> vura kárixas nick'yáxxicrihti', paniví·ktíha'a<sup>k</sup>. Va:<sup>a</sup> vúra karixas nick'yáxxicrihti pate'pvíkmúram-ha'a<sup>k</sup>. Pahó·tahyá:k tanik'yó·ha'a<sup>k</sup>, papuva né'pví·kmaha'a<sup>k</sup>, va:<sup>a</sup> kari kunipítí' puyá·hara 'fín napieré·vihe'<sup>e</sup>, 'ikxáram 'uvík-yé<sup>c</sup> pananívík.<sup>34</sup>

Paká:n tani'áramsiþ, sárip karu sárumb taniyákkuri k'á:n. Yíθθa kúkku:m taniyákkuri passárum, kuyrá:k tu'árihic. Va:<sup>a</sup> ká:n pa-nihyákkurihti pa'áxxa kumá·á-tcip passárum. Pataniyákkuri-ha'a<sup>k</sup>, 'áxxak nipicríkk'asraráti passárip

X Y Z (See Pl. 22)

Where I finish going around once, that is where I start to twine with three strands. I always start to three-strand twine at the corner.

Where I first start to three-strand twine, that will be the end of the courses. When I get to the end of a course, that is the only time I can stop working, when I am working on a basket. I stop at the end of the course. If I quit in the wrong place, before I weave to there, they say a dead person will help me weave, he will weave on my basket in the night.

Where I start to three-strand twine, I always insert both a hazel stick and a pine root strand. I introduce another pine root strand, that makes three. I insert it between the two other pine root strands. When I introduce a new hazel stick, I always take in two hazel sticks together by the twining.

<sup>33</sup> Or paká:n piccí·tc ni'áramsi·privti'. Where the course of two-strand twining starts really determines the end of the courses, but since where this starts is inconspicuous while the start of the three-strand twining is readily seen, the latter is considered by the Indians to determine the place.

<sup>34</sup> This belief, that one must reach the end of a course, tends to make the basket work progress faster. When another matter calls, diligent work is put in to reach the goal, the end of the course. Then if the distraction is not pressing, one weaves a little beyond—with the result that one is again course-end bound through a mighty superstition. The work progresses. This is the informant's own amusedly volunteered observation.

Sú̄kam 'uvé·hricukti pasarip·ráffiv karupassárum pavúra piccítc tanií·kkváha'ák.

Pasarip·ráffiv niθavátvá·tti', va;<sup>u</sup>m xé·ttcite patanitákkuka-ha'ák. Va;<sup>a</sup> kuma yíθθa kuna vo-yávhití', pu'ipvó·nkivtihára pataniθavatváttaha'ák.

Va;<sup>a</sup> pó·kupitti kuyrá;k passárum 'a<sup>l</sup> 'uvé·hriv 'ávahkam hití-ha;n vúra. Pa;ifutetí·mite va;<sup>a</sup> pani'usiprí·nnati vura hitíha'an, viri va;<sup>a</sup> paniynakavára'tí:<sup>35</sup> 'Áxxak 'ávahkam 'u'áhō·ti', xas va;<sup>a</sup> yíθθa passárip musúrukkam tupiynákka'r.<sup>36</sup> Tcé·myátova ni-pecíppihti', sákri;v nipikyá·tti'. Va;<sup>a</sup> nik'yupa'árvahiti'.

Payíθθa to'psú·nkinatcha'ák, xas yíθ kúna taniyákkuri passárum.

Picce'tc paniví·kró·vuti', itcám-mahite tí·mxákkarari kitc nihyákkurihti'. Va;<sup>a</sup> kuma'íffuθ ta;y vura tanipi'ík, 'axákmahite nipi-crik'yasrá·nvuti pavúra hó;y vúrava yíθθa tanihyákkuriha;k passárip. Pavura hó;y vura kunic to;xá'sha', kari k'yúkk;<sup>m</sup> yíθθa tanihyákkuri.

Pa'áffiv k'yáriha'ák, va;<sup>a</sup> kari kitc paníi·kkvúti'. Pata'a<sup>l</sup>'uvó·rura'ha'ák, va;<sup>a</sup> kári tako·pani'-í·kkvúti', há·ri xas vura kúkk;<sup>m</sup> yíθθa tanihyákkuri. Vura kun?á-punmuti pa'affívkiř, vármas va;<sup>a</sup> 'u'u'm, karu ké·cítcas. Ká·kum 'u'í·kkváhi passárip, kuru ká-kum 'úθvuyti 'affívkiř.

The bases of the hazel sticks and pineroot strands, as soon as I introduce hazel sticks, stick out inside the basket.

I chew the butt ends of the hazel sticks so that they will be soft when I clean out the inside of the basket. And another thing, they do not slip back out, if I chew them.

That way three pineroot strands are sticking up on top all the time. I take the hindmost one all the time, and pass it around [a warp stick]; it goes over two sticks and passes under one. Every once in a while I pull it tight, I make it solid. That is the way they twine with three strands.

Whenever a pine root strand gets short, I put another in.

The first course I only insert one [warp stick] at each corner. After that I introduce many, I pass it around two [warp sticks] at a time whenever I introduce a [new] warp stick. Whenever there seems to be a gap, I introduce one [warp stick] again.

When still working on the bottom, that is the time when I introduce the most sticks. After I start up the sides of the basket, I stop introducing them, just sometimes I introduce one again. One can tell the originally inserted sticks, they are long ones, and stouter ones. Some are introduced warp sticks, and some are called sticks that one starts with.

<sup>35</sup> Or panicrik'yurí·vuti'.

<sup>36</sup> Or nicríkk'yurihti', I pass it.

Pí:<sup>θ</sup> tani'árav, va;<sup>2</sup> 'u:m sák-ri'i'<sup>v</sup>. Ká:kum ta:y kun'áram-tí';<sup>3</sup> va;<sup>2</sup> 'u:m kumayá:yést. Hárí vura ta:y kun'áramti', karu hárí vura teí'miteic.

I twine with three strands four times around, then it is strong. Some people twine with three strands several times around; then it is a little better. Sometimes they three-strand twine a lot, and sometimes just a little.

#### *h. Pahú:t* kunkupa'axaytcákkie-rihahiti pakunyíktiha'ak

Va;<sup>2</sup> vura nik'yupaxaytcákkie-rihahiti pavik, súrukam pasú:kam-hé'<sup>c</sup>, va;<sup>2</sup> vúra nik'yupéyytárám-káhiti pananípk'yúruhak pakú:kam usú:kamh'<sup>e</sup>c.<sup>37</sup> Papúva xay napikríriha'ak, papúva navík-k'yura:ha'ak, vura hitíha:n su'úθxú:priv pananipkuruh'ávah-kam. Patcimi nívík'yurá:vica-ha'ak, va;<sup>2</sup> kári nipaθakhíkk'yuti'; paké:tcha'ak, vura 'á:pu'n 'u'i:θ-ra',<sup>38</sup> naníθva:yk'yam, 'ukrírihri.v.

#### (HOW THEY HOLD THE BASKET AS IT IS BEING WOVEN)

I hold the basket with its inside down, I hold its inside upon my thigh. When I do not yet hold it against my knee, when I have not started up the sides yet, it lies mouth down on my thigh. When I start up the sides of the basket, I hold it against my knee; and if it is big, it sets on the ground, in front of me, on its side.

#### *i. Pahú:t* kunkupapáffivmára-hiti'

Karixas patanikxúrik.<sup>39</sup> Tani-xúripha panyúaramu'<sup>w</sup>k. Táni-vik. Takó:<sup>2</sup> pa'arav.

#### (HOW THEY FINISH OUT THE BOTTOM)

Then I start to make patterns. I stripe it vertically with bear lily, I twine with two strands.

<sup>37</sup> The basket while the bottom is still being worked on is held bottom up on the (formerly bare) thigh just above the knee, not on the knee. In basket work the new warp sticks and woof strands are regularly introduced with the right hand; the left thumb is constantly used to press the strands down and make the work firm.

<sup>38</sup> Or taniθrí'<sup>c</sup>, I set it.

<sup>39</sup> The impractical shape of the bottom of a certain tobacco basket, which bulged in the center so that the basket would not set flat on its bottom, was blamed on the use, or too early use, of bear lily overlay on its bottom. Papanyúrar 'uvíkk'yarahitiha:ak pa'áffiv, 'u:m vura u'ifríceukvuti'. Xas pu'ikrícríhtihára, passípn'u'<sup>w</sup>k. Po'i:fícukahitiha'ak, pu'ikrícrihtihára. Pavik'yayé:pca 'u:mku'n 'áffiv sárum kunvíkk'yaratí'. If the bottom is woven with bear lily, it "comes back out" [sticks out]. Then the basket does not set up [good]. When the bottom sticks out, it does not set up [good]. The good weave is to make the bottom with pineroot strands only.

Yíθθa passárum tanipviktcákic su?.<sup>40</sup> 'Áxxaki;c vura panivík'yarati?<sup>41</sup> Su? kitc vura po·vé·h-rámnihva'.

Sarumvássihk'yam papanyúrar patanihyákkuri. Papanyúrar 'u:m víra hitíha:n sarumvássihk'yam 'u'áhō'ti'. Papanyúrar 'u:m vura hitíha:n 'u'avahkámhiti'. Sarum u'aktáppurahiti papanyúrar. Sarum ni'aktáppunti papanyúrar. Pí:θ tanikxurikrō'o v.

Xas 'áxxak taniví·krō'v panyu-  
raramúnnaixi:c, 'áxxak vura sárum  
ni'aktáppunti papanyúrar.

Karixas 'áxxak niví·krō'o v, 'áppap  
'ikritápkiir, karu 'áppa pan-  
yúrar, 'uxúnniphino·vahitiha:c.

Xas 'íffuθ panyúrar taniví·k-  
rō'o v, 'áxxak.

Xas panyúrar sarum xákka:n  
tanixúripha', kuyrá:k tanipvík-  
kirō'piθ'va.

Karixas patcimi nipikrírihe·ca-  
ha'sk, va:k kari tani'árvav, yíθθa  
tani'áramnō'o v. Karixas yíθθa  
taniví·krō'o v, panyúrar 'áppap  
ni'avíkvuti', karu 'áppap sárum,

The three-strand twining comes  
to an end.

I "tie down" one pineroot  
strand [one of the three strands  
that I have been twining with]  
inside. I twine with two strands.  
It [the end of the dropped strand]  
must always stick off inside.

The bear lily strand I always  
introduce just after [i. e., be-  
yond, in a direction away from  
the weaver] the pineroot strand  
[that is to be dropped]. The  
bear lily strand goes on the back  
of [i. e., on the outside of] the  
pineroot strand all the time.  
The bear lily strand is on top all  
the time. The bear lily strand  
is lined with the pineroot strand.  
I line the bear lily strand with a  
pineroot strand. I make ver-  
tical bar pattern [by facing one  
strand only] for four courses.

Then I twine with two strands  
around twice with solid bear lily,  
lining both bear lily strands with  
pineroot strands.

Then I twine with two strands  
twice around, having one strand  
faced with maidenhair and the  
other with bear lily, it runs a-  
round vertical barred a little [re-  
ferring to the vertical bar thus  
produced].

Then after that I two-strand  
twine twice around with bear  
lily.

Then I vertical bar pattern  
three times around, bear lily and  
pineroot strands together.

Then when I am pretty nearly  
ready to start up the sides of the

<sup>40</sup> Or sú?karñ.

<sup>41</sup> Or panivíkk'yare'e c, that I am going to twine with two strands.

'aravá'ā'tcip. Xas kúkkum va:  
ká:n tanippáráv, yiθea kúkkum  
tanippáráv.

Xas 'arava'ávahkam tanip-  
xúriphiro'ov, kuyrákyam tanip-  
xúriphiro'ov.

Xas 'áxxak tanipvíkróv pan-  
yuraramúnnaxítc.

Xas píθ nikutcitevássihá', 'ápa-  
pa panyúrár, 'áppap sárum. Va:  
nik'yupakutcitevássihahiti', pata-  
nípvi'kmaha'ak, va:kari tanipíc-  
víl·trip papanyúrár, 'áppapkam  
va:tanipihyákkúri.

j. Pahú't kunkupatakrávahiti  
sú'karín, karixas takunvík-  
kyura'a<sup>41a</sup>

Karixas papiccf'tc tanipikríti,<sup>42</sup>  
patcimi nivíkk'yurá·víc, víri va:  
kari su:t tanitákra:v, yiθea sárip  
mū:k tanitákra:v. Va:ká:n pata-  
nikutcitevássihá', víri va:ká:n  
patanitákra:v, pakutcitevasihasu-  
nukya'a'tc. Vura ké'ccite passárip  
patani'ú'ssi:p, xas va:sú:t tanikíf-  
k'yúnnám'ni.

Xas panivíktíha'ak, há'níhma-  
hítc va:niptaspú:nyuti patakra-

basket, then I twine with three  
strands. I twine with three  
strands once around. Then I two-  
strand twine once around with  
bear lily one side and pineroot  
on the other, with the three-  
strand twining in the middle.  
Then I three-strand twine there  
again, I three-strand twine once  
around again.

Then on top of the three-strand  
twining I vertical bar pattern a-  
round, I vertical bar pattern  
three times around.

Then I two-strand twine twice  
around with pure bear lily.

Then I diagonal bar design  
with a bear lily strand and a pine-  
root strand. The way I make  
the diagonal bar design is that  
when I have two-strand twined  
once around, I break off the bear  
lily strand, I introduce it into  
the other [pineroot] strand.

(HOW THEY APPLY A HOOP ON THE  
INSIDE BEFORE THEY WEAVE UP  
THE SIDES OF THE BASKET)<sup>41a</sup>

When I first hold it against my  
knee, when I am about to start  
up the sides of the basket, then I  
apply a hoop. I apply a hazel  
stick as a hoop. Where I diagonal-  
bar, that is where I am applying  
the hoop, inside of the diagonal  
bar designing. I select a rather  
stout hazel stick, I bend it  
around inside.

Then when I weave, every once  
in a while I lash in the hoop, I

<sup>41a</sup> See Pl. 23, a.

<sup>42</sup> See p. 117.

var, yá víra taníkya'v, su' vura  
tusákri'vhiram'ni.

Va: kumá'i'i patanitákra'v, xáy  
xé'tcič, panivík'urá'ha'ak, 'uká'-  
rimhiti vik, patakravíppuxha'ak.

Patanipθíθaha'ak, va: kári  
tanippúriccuk patakrávar.

k. Pahú't kunkunpavíkk'yurá'-  
hiti' <sup>42a</sup>

Pa'áffiv takunpáffivmaraha'ak,  
kari takunpikríri.

Xas sárum kuyrá:k taniví·k-  
rō'o'v.

Karixas kúkku:m sárummū:k  
tanixxúripha karu panúrar, pí:θ.

Xas pí:θ taniví·krō'v sárum.

Xas kúkku:m tanixxúripha',  
pí:θ tanixxúriphirō'o'n.

Karixas 'áxxak tanípví·krō'v  
panyúrar.

Karixas tanixxúriphiro'v pí:θ  
'ikritapkíramū'k, panyúrarámū'k  
káru.

Xas kúkku:m 'áxxak panyúrar  
tanípví·krō'o'v.

Xas kúkku:m tanixxúripha',  
'ikrívkir tanixxúriphiro'v.

Xas pí:θ tánikuteitevássi', 'ikri-  
tápkir panyúrar xákka'sn.

Xas kuyrá:k tanípví·krō'v  
panyúrar.

Karixas 'itró'p tanipxúripha'.

fix it good; I fasten it inside  
firm.

I apply the hoop, so that it will  
not be limber, where I start up  
the sides of the basket; the  
basket would be poor if I did not  
apply the hoop.

When I finish the basket, then  
I rip the hoop out.

#### HOW THEY WEAVE UP THE SIDES OF THE BASKET <sup>42a</sup>

When they finish out the bot-  
tom, then they hold it against  
the knee.

Then I weave around three  
times with pineroot.

Then I vertical bar design four  
times around with pineroot and  
bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine four  
times around with pineroot.

Then I vertical bar design  
again, I vertical bar design four  
times around.

Then I two-strand twine  
around twice again with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar design four  
times around with maidenhair  
and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine twice  
again around with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar design six  
times around.

Then I diagonal bar four times  
around with maidenhair and bear  
lily.

Then I two-strand twine three  
times around with bear lily.

Then I vertical bar design five  
times around.

<sup>42a</sup> See Pl. 23, b.

l. Pahú·t ká·kum kunkupapipá-trí·pvahiti passári·p, pa'ip·panváritáha'·k

Kárixas pata'ippánváriha'·k, kari k्यá·kum passári·p 'axákma-hite tanipicrik'ásrā·n'va, va·-u·m 'íppan 'upní·nnámiteputí', pa'íffuθ tanípví·krō'·v, kari tani-pícpá·tsur 'ítcámmahi·c, yíθoa va·tanipícpá·trip, pa'ipa'áxxak nípic-ríkk'ásrā·rat.

Pa'umsuré·p va· kunkupé·θvú-yá·nnahiti sarípvíkkik. Hárí-vura va· kunpíhrú·vtí', va· kun-víkk'yarati sipnuk?anamahate?íθ-xúppař. Hárí va· vura takun-kíccař, va· kuníhrú·vti fá· takun-piθxáxař.

Passári·p vura 'íppan uptú·p-pitcasputí' patanívikk'yurá·ha'·k.

m. Pahú·t va· vúra kunkupa-víkk'yurá·hi·tí'

Karixas kuyrákyá·n tanípví·krō'·v panyunanamúnnaxite vúra.

Karixas pí·θ tanikutcitcvássi-ha', 'ikritápkir panyúrar xákka'·n.

Kárixas pí·θ tanípví·krō'·v pan-yú·rar.

'Itrō·p tanipxúriphíro'·r.

Karixas kuyrá·k tanipxúriphíro'·v, 'ikritapkíramū·k karu-pan-yú·rar.

Panyunanamúnnaxite xas tanípvíkrō'·v, 'axákya'·n.

Karixas tanipxúripha pí·θ tanípví·krō'·v.

(HOW THEY BREAK OFF SOME OF THE WARP STICKS WHEN THEY HAVE PROGRESSED WELL TOWARD THE TOP OF THE BASKET)

Then when I have progressed well toward the top of the basket, then I twine some of the sticks two together, so that the upper part [of the basket] will become slender, then in the next course I break them off one at a time, breaking off one wherever I twined two together.

The broken off tips they call "sticks that have been woven with." Sometimes they use them, weave a cover of a little basket with them. Sometimes they tie them in a bunch and use it to clean things with.

The warp sticks get slenderer anyway as I weave upward.

(HOW THEY KEEP ON WEAVING UP THE SIDES OF THE BASKET)

Then I two-strand twine three times around with nothing but bear lily.

Then I diagonal-bar four times around with maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine four times around again with bear lily.

I vertical-bar five times around.

Then I vertical-bar three times around with maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine twice around with bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine four times around with vertical bar design.

*n.* Pahú't kunkupe'pθíθθahiti pa- (HOW THEY FINISH THE TOBACCO  
'uhśípnu'uk<sup>42b</sup> BASKET)<sup>42b</sup>

Karixas patcimi nipθíθθe'e<sup>c</sup>.  
Kárixas taní'árv yíθθa'.

Karixas 'ikrívki tanipvíkpaθ;<sup>43</sup>  
sárummí'uk pa'árvamí'uk 'usák-  
rí'vhiti'.

Karixas tanípθíθ. 'Ipamžcví-t-  
tātemí'uk tanipicríkk'yúri. Há·ri  
'arará'á·nmí'uk takunpicríkk'yúri,  
há·ri k'yaru vúra vastáranmí'uk.  
Va; vura ká:n xas nick'áxxicrihtí'  
pe'pvíkmúram. Pa'áxxaki;tc to-  
sá·mkáha;k pavíkrō'v pakári  
nipθíθθe'e<sup>c</sup>, va; kári pa'íppam  
tanitáspur sárippa;k, 'ávahkam  
'uvárari'hva pamu'íppa;n. Xas  
pakári tanípví'kma ká:n pe'kvík-  
múram, va; vura nivíkcánti pa'-  
íppam passárippak. Karixas pa-  
tanípví'kmáha;k pa'ifutctímítc-  
ví·krō'o;v, karixas va; ká:n pa'ípa  
nitaspúrirak pa'íppa;n, taníyú'n-  
núpri 'áxxak vura passárum,  
xas sáruk tanicrú'rúni pa'íppa;n,  
tanipicritaráric. Karixas taní-  
vússur pa'íppam pamu'ípankam.  
Pupippú'ntíha;r, páva; taniníc-  
caha';k. Patanikruptáráricri-  
ha';k,<sup>44</sup> há·ri 'á? 'upimθatraksí'p-  
rínati'.

Then I am about to finish it.  
Then I three-strand twine once  
around.

Then I two-strand twine six  
times around with pineroot, the  
three-ply twining holds it [this  
final two-strand twining] up.

Then I finish it off. I fasten  
it with a little thread of sinew.  
They sometimes fasten it with  
Indian [iris] twine, and some-  
times with a buckskin thong.  
I always stop at the end of a  
course. When only two rounds  
remain before I finish, then I  
loop a sinew [filament] over a  
hazel stick, the ends of it [of the  
sinew] hanging down outside the  
basket. Then when I two-strand  
twine another course around to  
the end of the [previous] course  
there, I two-strand twine the  
sinew together with the warp  
stick. Then when I finish the  
last round, then I put the two  
pineroot strands through the  
looped sinew, then I pull the  
sinew downward; I tighten it  
down. Then I cut off the ends  
of the sinew. It does not come  
undone when I do this way to it.  
If I sew it down, maybe it will  
come undone [lit. it will come  
undone upward] again.

<sup>42b</sup> See Pls. 24 and 25, *a*.

<sup>43</sup> Special verb used of last rows of two-ply twining at the rim of  
a basket.

<sup>44</sup> Most baskets are finished nowadays by sewing a few stitches  
with modern commercial thread instead of following one of these old  
methods.

o. Pahú't kunkupavíkk'ahiti  
pe·θxúppar<sup>44a</sup>

(WEAVING THE COVER) <sup>44a</sup>

Karixas pe·θxúppar kúna tanivík. Xas va; vura tani'kyúpē·kxuríkk'aha' pa'uhsípnuk'ukupé·kxuríkk'ahiti'.

Píccí:p taní'áffiv', tanítáyí·θha'. Xas yíθθa taniví·krō'v.

Karixas tanikyá·ssip patánivik, va; vúra tani'í·k'áru. Kuyrá:k tani'áráv, karu kuyrá:k taniví·krō'v sárum.

Karixas kuyrá:k tanixxúripha'.

Xas 'áxxak taniví·krō'v sárum.

Karixas kuyrá:k tanipxúri-phiro'v.

Karixas 'áxxak tanipxúriphiro'v 'ikritápkiř.

Sárum yíθθa tanípví·krō'v.

Karixas patani'áráv, yíθθa tani'áráv.

Kárixas 'áxxak tanípví·krō'v sárum.

Xás yíttcē·tc vúra tanipxúri-phiro'v.

Karixas tanikutcitevássiha kuyrá:k.

Xas panyúrar taniví·krō'v píθ.

Karixas kuyrá:k tanipxúri-phiro'v, 'ikritapkframū'k.

Karixas 'áxxak tanípví·krō'v panyúrar.

Karixas kuyrá:k tanikutcitevássiha sárummū'k panyúrar xákka'sn.

Karixas yíθθa tani'aramno'v, yíθθa panyúrar ni'avíkvuti k'aru 'áxxak sárum.

Then I make the cover in turn. I make the same designs on it as the tobacco basket has.

First I start it, I lash the base. Then I weave around once.

Then I start to three-strand twine, introducing [new] sticks. I three-strand twine three times around, and then two-strand twine around three times with pineroots.

Then I vertical-bar three times around.

Then I two-strand twine twice around with the pineroot.

Then I vertical-bar three times around again.

Then I vertical-bar twice around with maidenhair.

I two-strand twine around once with pineroot.

Then I three-strand twine, I three-strand twine once around.

Then I two-strand twine twice around with pineroot.

Then I vertical-bar just once around again.

Then I diagonal-bar three times around.

Then I two-strand twine four courses of bear lily.

Then I vertical-bar three times around with the maidenhair.

Then I two-strand twine twice around again with bear lily.

Then I diagonal-bar three times around with pineroot and bear lily.

<sup>44a</sup> See Pls. 24 and 25, a.

Karixas yíθθa taniví·krō'v  
panyunanamúnnaxitc.

Karixas 'áxxak tanikutcitevás-  
siha', 'ikritápkir k'yaru panyúfar.

Karixas kuyrá:k tanípví·krō'o v,  
vura panyunanamúnnaxitc.

Karixas kuyrá:k tanípví·krō'v  
vura sanumúnnaxi'c.

Karixas pa'áxxaki:tc to'sá·m-  
káha'k, va:kári pa'íppam  
tanitáspur.

Xas pata'ifutctf'mitcha'ak, va:  
kári kék'citcas vura passárum  
pataniví·krō'o v.<sup>45</sup> Va:kári kék'  
citcas vura passárum patani'úrip  
pata'ifutctimitc'ípví·krō'o v. Va:  
'u:m pupiktíttihára.

Xas sáruk tanicrú·ruñi, xás va:  
ká:n pe'θxúpparak 'ú·mmukite  
vura patanivússur. Va:kári ni-  
ky'upapicríkk'yurhahiti'.

Kárixas 'ítcámmahite tani-  
'ivukúr'i·pva passárip po'vé·hrúp-  
ramti', tani'ú·msur.<sup>46</sup>

p. Pahú:t kunkupe'nñíkk'yahiti  
pe'θxúppar

Paniví·ktíha'ak, tcé·myáteva  
nipikyá:várihvuti pe'θxúppar pa-  
sipnú·kkañ, kiri kó:yá:ha'.

Karixas pamuθxúppar pata-  
nipθíθaha'ak, xas tani'árip vas-  
táran, xas tanikruptararíci'hva'  
yimusítcmahite tanirkúpkúrihvá-  
to'pváppiró·piθva vura pavas-  
táran, 'uykurúkk'npáθahiti pa-  
vastáran.<sup>47</sup> Xakinívkihakan ta-  
níkrú·pkùrì 'íppamú:k. 'Ipan-

Then I three-strand twine once  
around carrying one bear lily  
strand along with two pineroot  
strands.

Then I two-strand twine once  
around with solid bear lily.

Then I diagonal bar once a-  
round, maidenhair and bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine three  
times around with solid bear lily.

Then I two-strand twine three  
times around with nothing but  
pineroot strands.

Then the next, the last course,  
I hook the sinew over.

Then when it is the last round,  
it is larger pineroots that I weave  
around with. I select bigger pine-  
root strands when I weave the last  
course. That way it does not rip.

Then I draw it downward, then  
I cut if off close to the body of  
the cover. That is the way I  
fasten the ends.

Then I break off one by one  
the projecting hazel sticks; I  
trim them off.

#### (HOW THEY TIE THE COVER ON)

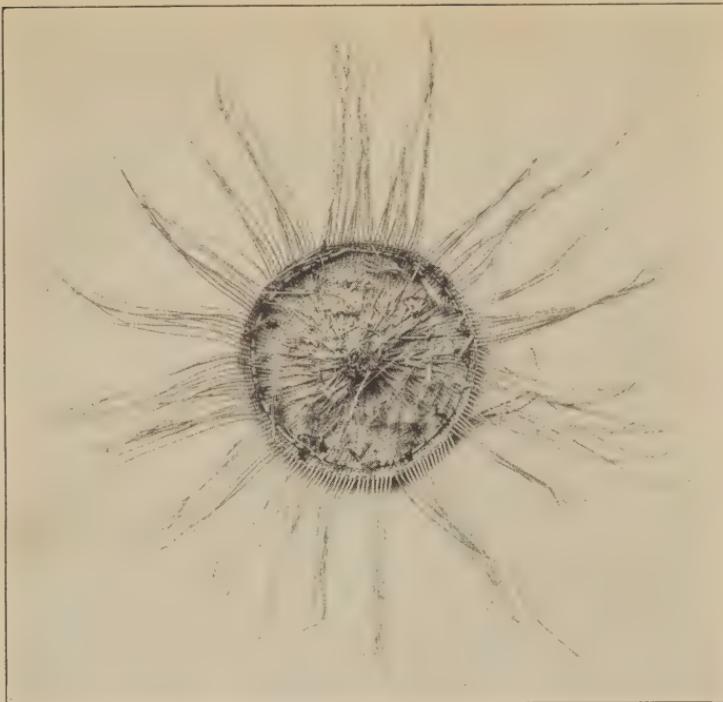
While I am weaving, every  
once in a while I try the cover  
on the basket, so it will fit it good.

Then when I finish the cover,  
I cut a buckskin thong; then I  
sew it on, all around; the thong  
zigzags around. At seven places  
I sew it on, with sinew. It is a  
little below the top that I sew it  
on, at the three-strand twining.

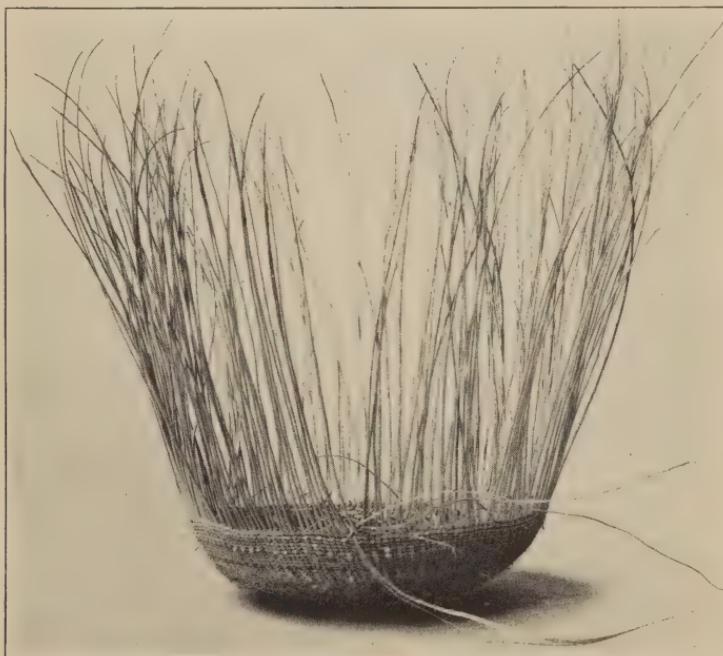
<sup>45</sup> Or va:kári kék'citcas vura mű:k passárum pataniví·krō'o v.

<sup>46</sup> The old verb denoting the process of breaking them off.

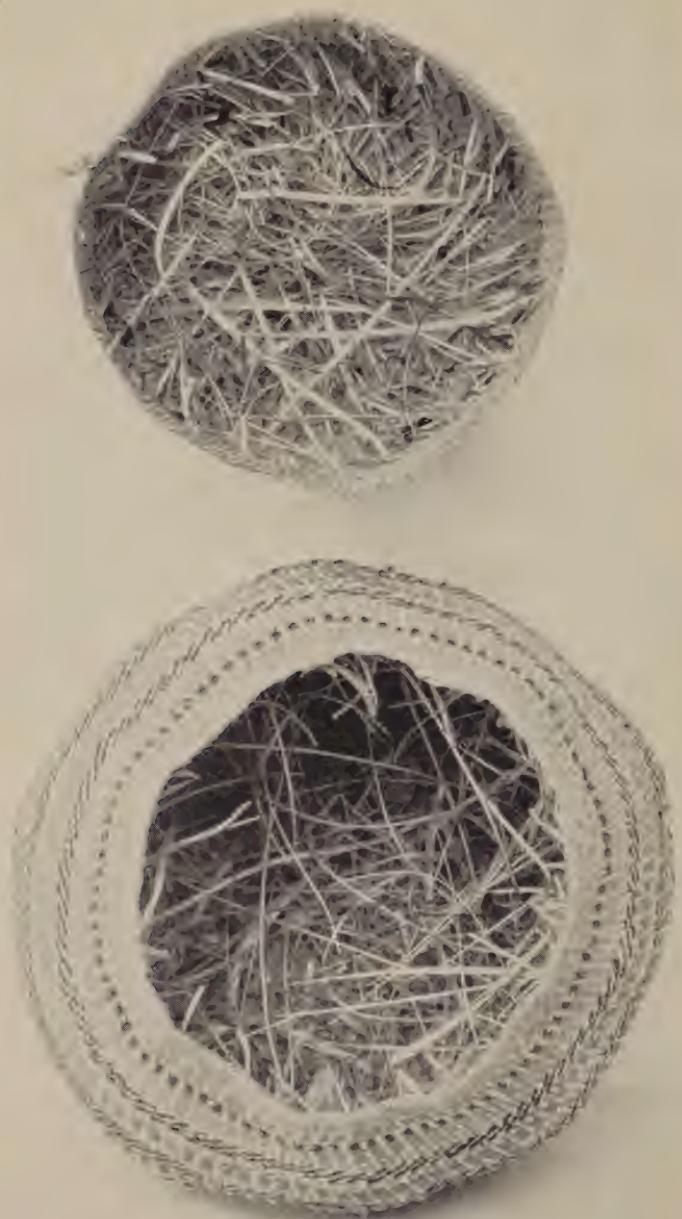
<sup>47</sup> See Pl. 25, a.



*a*, The tobacco basket, with bottom finished, with temporary hoop inside



*b*, The tobacco basket as its sides start up



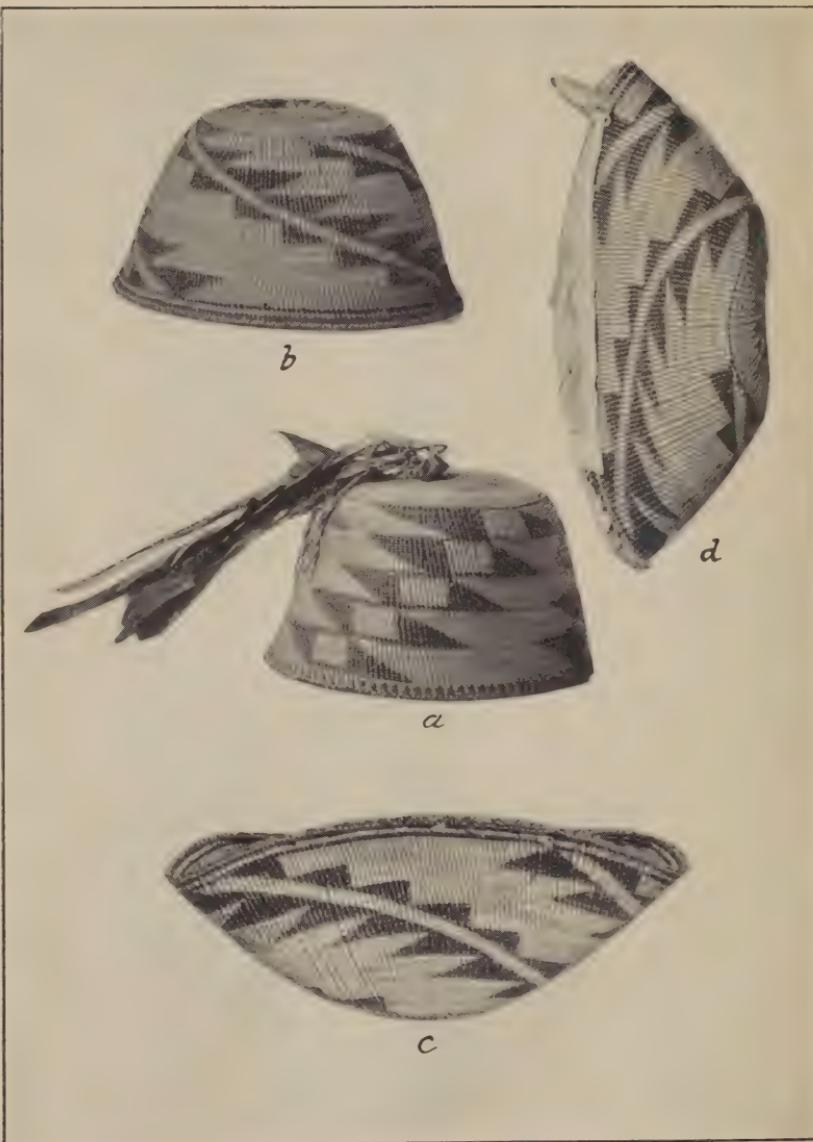
THE TOBACCO BASKET AND ITS COVER, FINISHED BUT NOT YET CLEANED OUT



*a*, The finished tobacco basket with its cover tied on



*b*, Limber upriver style of tobacco basket, with foundation of iris twine  
instead of hazel sticks



*a*, Upriver woman's hat with bunch of feathers on its top. *b, c, d*, Three stages of making an upriver hat into a tobacco basket: *b*, the upriver hat; *c*, the same partly sewed up; *d*, the same made into a tobacco basket, hung up with thong. Only a small opening left at the top, otherwise closed with sewed-on buckskin strip

súnnukite va; ká:n patanikrúp-kúrihva', árávák.

Há:ri su? vura 'u'ik'yurúpri'h-va pataruprávar, 'ipeú'nkincatcas vura pavastáran 'u'ik'yurúpri'h-va, súlkam 'usú'pifahina'tí.

Xas yíθθa várám taníkrú'pka', vastaranxára, 'árippapu', pamú·kuninhitaráricrihe:c pé'θxúppa:t. Karu há:ti paká:n tanipikrup-kō:m'mar, va; vura taní'ít.cur várám 'unhíccuru'<sup>48</sup> pa'áripápu pamu'íppankam, va; karu vura níhró:vic.

Há:ri vúra yíθθa po'hyárup-ramti 'atcipyá:k<sup>49</sup> kunpinhík-kýó:ti pataruprávar.<sup>50</sup> Hó:y vúra va kunpinhítunvuti'.

Karixas patcimi nipimθatará-ricrihe'e:c, tanipíθxup, karixas paxárl'pcúrahitihan pavastáran tani'ú'ssi:p, xas va; mū:k tanita-rúprav.

Piccí:tc 'iθyú:kkinuyá:tc yur'únhi'kk'yáratí', va; ká:n po'tarup-rávahiti', va; ká:n taminákka'r, pupuxx'ítc 'icríhpihtiha:p.

Karixas yíθθukuna taníyú:nnu-pri', karixas 'iθyú:kkinuyá:tc kúku:m taníhí'kk'yárt,<sup>51</sup> yíθθukuna taníyú:nnapri'. Karixas 'iθyú:k tani'íccipk'ar<sup>52</sup> k'yúkk'u:m.

Karixas yiθθukuna taníyú:nnu-pri'.

Karixas pa'avahkam'íccipívráfan va; taninákkar po'sak-rivhikkire'e:c.

Karixas ta'ifutctí:mite tanípí-yú:nnapri', taniptarúprá:m'mar.

Sometimes they run the tie-thong through [the basket], short pieces [each making one loop], knotting them on the inside.

Then I sew a long one on, a long thong, a cut strip, to tie the cover on with. Or where I finish sewing it on, I let the end of the thong stick out long; I shall use it.

Sometimes they tie the tie-thong on the middle of one of the loops. They just tie it together any place.

Then when I am going to tie it on, I put the cover on the basket; then I take the sticking out thong; then I lace it with that.

First it goes straight across and laces through there; I make a knot there; it is not drawn tight.

Then I insert it through at another place, then it runs straight across again, and through another [loop]; then I run it across to the other side.

Then I put it through another one [another loop].

Then I pass it around one [thong] on top so it will be tight.

Then I put it through the last loop, I finish lacing it. Then I

<sup>48</sup> Or 'uxári'pcuruti', or 'uxári'pcurahiti'.

<sup>49</sup> Lit. on the middle of one that is sticking out.

<sup>50</sup> This word is also applied to the tie-thong of a baby basket.

<sup>51</sup> Or tó:nhi'kk'yárt.

<sup>52</sup> Or 'u'íccipk'yáratí', or tu'íccipk'yar, it runs across.

Karixas pa'avahkam'íccipívraθan  
va;<sub>x</sub> mussúrukam taníyúnnúpri'.  
Karixas taninhí'c 'ávahkam.

Va;<sub>x</sub> ká:n 'ipanní'tc 'unhíccuru;<sub>x</sub>  
vastáran, va;<sub>x</sub> mű:k takuntakkar-  
rari 'a?. Há:ti vura pufá:t 'inhí-  
curō:ra, yíθ xas vura takuninhí-  
cu:, pamű:kuntákkarárihe'ec.

tuck it under one [thong] that is  
on top. Then I tie it on top.

By the end of the thong that  
is sticking off they hang it up.  
Sometimes there is not any stick-  
ing off, then they tie another one  
on to hang it up with.

Plate 25, *a*, shows the finished tobacco basket woven by Imk'yánvan, the making of which is described above, with cover tied on. Mason, the Ray Collection from Hupa Reservation, Plate 15, No. 67, shows a tobacco basket, which is Nat. Mus. No. 126520, Hupa, collected by Lieut. P. H. Ray; see also his comment on this basket, which we have quoted, p. 24.

#### q. Tusipú:nvahiti pakó:h pa'uhsípnu'uk

##### (MEASUREMENTS OF THE TOBACCO BASKET)

The tobacco basket made by Imk'yánvan, the making of which is described on pages 107-126 of this paper, measures 8 inches in diameter, 6½ inches high, and 4¾ inches across the mouth. Attachment points of loops of tie-thong are ca. 2½ inches apart. Projection of loops from basket ca. 2½ inches. Free end of thong 32 inches long. Cover 2½ inches high, 5½ inches diameter. The basket with cover on is 8½ inches high. The finished basket is shown in Plate 25, *a*.

#### 3. Pakah'luhsípnu'uk

##### (UPRIVER TOBACCO BASKET)

'U:mkuñ karu vura 'uhsípnu:k  
kuntárahiti pakah'ráhabsa', va;<sub>x</sub>  
vura kunkupavíkk'yahiti pánnu:<sub>x</sub>  
vura sípnu:k nukupavíkk'yahiti',  
va;<sub>x</sub> vura kunkupé:kxúrikk'yahiti'.  
Vúrama 'u:m kunxúnnutí:c, pu-  
saripsáriphitihaþ, 'a:n kunsárip-  
hiti'. Há:ti va;<sub>x</sub> vura kunsári-  
phiti pa'ávahkam kunvíkk'yarati  
k'yaru vura. Ké:ttcas karu vura  
kuníkyá:tti', k'yaru vura tū:ppit-  
caš. Va;<sub>x</sub> vúra pamuθxúppar kunkupé:k'yá:hiti', pavura nu;<sub>x</sub> nanu-  
'uhsípnu:k 'u:mkuñ karu vúra va;<sub>x</sub>  
kunkupé:k'yá:hiti'.

The upriver Indians have to-  
bacco baskets, too, weaving them  
as we do, and using the same  
kinds of designs. They are kind  
of limber ones; they do not use  
hazel sticks, they use iris twine  
for hazel sticks. Sometimes they  
use as hazel sticks the same kind  
of material that they twine with.  
They make big ones and little  
ones. They make the cover of it  
the same way as we do for our  
tobacco baskets.

4. Pakahapxan<sup>7</sup>uhspnu<sup>8</sup>k

(UPRIVER HAT TOBACCO BASKET)

Pakah<sup>9</sup>áras 'a<sub>n</sub> kunsáriphiti pamukun<sup>10</sup>ápx'a<sup>11</sup>n. Kúnnutitcas pa'ápx'a<sup>11</sup>n, vura kuniyxámxu'mti'.

A. Pakahápxa<sub>n</sub> pakumé·mús

The upriver Indians have hats with twine for hazel sticks. They are soft hats. One can bend them together.

(WHAT THE UPRIVER HATS LOOK LIKE)

Pakah<sup>9</sup>árahsa pamukun<sup>10</sup>ápx'a<sup>11</sup>n 'apxanxárahsa'. Xúnnutitcas, 'a<sub>n</sub> kunsáriphiti'. Hárí 'áffiv 'íθk<sup>y</sup> ukríxxávkáhit'.<sup>53</sup> Hárí pa'apxan<sup>12</sup>áffivak 'a<sub>n</sub>xkunic 'uyvúrukáhit'. Hárí icpük kuníkrúpkōtti 'apxan<sup>12</sup>áffí'vák, píθ. 'Icpuka'íffuθkam 'apxan<sup>12</sup>áffiv kú:k 'u'ifuθkámhvuti', píθ ta-kun<sup>13</sup>kru'pka', 'apxan<sup>12</sup>áffiv kú:k 'uifuθkámhvuti'. Kuna nu<sub>n</sub> vura ko'ho'máyá'ttceas pananúpxa<sup>11</sup>n.

B. Pakahapxan<sup>14</sup>kxúrik

The hats of the upriver people are tall hats. They are limber. Twine is used for hazel sticks. Sometimes on top there is a bunch of feathers. Sometimes the middle of the top of the hat is painted red. Sometimes they sew dentalia on the top of the hat, four. The small end of the dentalia is to the top, they sew four on, with the small end to the top. But our hats are just right size [height].

(PATTERNS OF UPRIVER HATS)

Pretty near all the upriver hats are long patterns, their patterns slant up. No matter what the pattern, we just call it upriver hat pattern.

C. 'Aθiθúfvðnnupma Va'áró·ras  
'u'mkun káru va<sub>n</sub> ká'kum kún-víkti kuma'ápx'a<sup>11</sup>n(SOME HAPPY CAMP PEOPLE WEAVE  
THAT KIND OF HAT TOO)

Our basket works go a long way downriver; though they talk different, Yuruk, they make our

<sup>53</sup> A Klamath hat in the National Museum, no. 24075, has several iridescent tail feathers of the tcfitta' Magpie, *Pica pica hudsonia* (Sabine), tied to its top. It was collected at Klamath Indian Reservation, Oregon, by L. S. Dyar, Agent and was accessioned July 20, 1876. Dimensions: 7 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, flat top 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches diameter, height 4 $\frac{1}{4}$  inches. The longest feather projects from middle of top of hat 11 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. See Pl. 26, a.

<sup>54</sup> = xá:s víra kó:víra pakahápxa:n vármas pamukun<sup>14</sup>kxúrik.

Karuma vura va<sub>x</sub> kári kunkupa-víkk'yahiti pananúvík. Káruk 'u:<sub>m</sub> vura 'aθiθúfvó·nnùpm u'íp-panhiti pananúvík. 'Aθiθúfvó·nnùpm kumaká·m<sup>55</sup> 'u:<sub>m</sub>kun tayíθ pamukún'vik.' Aθiθúfvó·nnupma Va'áru ras va<sub>x</sub> vura kari kunkupavíkk'yahiti pananúvík, kuna víra va<sub>x</sub> ká:n ká:kum takunvíkti pakahápxa<sup>a</sup>n. 'Aθiθuftícrá:m Va'ára ras ká:kum 'u:<sub>m</sub>kun va<sub>x</sub> ká:n víra takunvíkti 'a:<sub>n</sub> takunsáriphiti', va<sub>x</sub> ká:n vura káru takunvíkk'yárti 'ákxa<sup>a</sup>p. 'Icví tatak'rárhisa'.

D. Pahú:t mit kunkupíttihat pa-kunipírā·nvutihat mit pannu:<sub>m</sub> kuma'árá:<sub>m</sub>ras Pakah'rárhisa kó:vá, kah 'Inná:<sub>m</sub> pata'írahiv-ha'<sub>a</sub>k

Kó:víra kuma'írahiv 'u'iran-kó:ttihani<sup>k</sup> 'Inná:m pámita na-nitta<sup>a</sup>t. 'U'atírá:nnátihani<sup>k</sup> 'ax-akláttiv pa'ássip karu pe'mvá-fam, karu patarípa<sup>a</sup>n, vo'pirá:nn-vútihanik pavá:s, 'ararává:s,<sup>56</sup> karupakahápxa<sup>a</sup>n, karu pa'íp, pa-vura kó:kumá'u:p pakárruk vá-u<sup>a</sup>p. Kin'ě:htihat mit hárí pa-kahápxa<sup>a</sup>n, púva: kin'séxú:nnátihára, punanúvá:hára.

E. Tcimi nutcophuruθúne:<sub>c</sub> paka-hápxan'uhspípn'u:k

Há:ti va<sub>x</sub> kahápxa:n takin'ě:káruk, vír va<sub>x</sub> pa'ávansa há:ri tó-kyav 'uhspípn'u:k. 'A:tcip takun-pískru:pvar 'apxanápmá:n'nák.

kind of basketry. And our basketry extends upriver to Happy Camp. But upriver of Happy Camp they have different basketry. The Happy Camp people make our kind of baskets, but some among them make upriver hats. The Happy Camp people, some of them there too weave with twine for hazel sticks, they there also weave with 'ákxa<sup>a</sup>p. They are already halfway upriver people.

(HOW OUR KIND OF PEOPLE USED TO TRADE WITH THE UPRIVER PEOPLE AT CLEAR CREEK NEW YEAR CEREMONY)

Each new year ceremony my deceased mother would go to Clear Creek to attend the new year ceremony. She would pack upriver two pack basket loads of bowl baskets and openwork plates, and dipper baskets; she would trade them for blankets, Indian blankets, and upriver hats, and juniper seeds, for all kinds of things, upriver things. They used to give us those upriver hats sometimes, but we did not wear them, it does not look right on us.

(TELLING ABOUT THE UPRIVER HAT TOBACCO BASKET)

Sometimes they give us an upriver hat upriver, and then a man sometimes makes a tobacco basket out of it. They sew the hat

<sup>55</sup> Or kumakáruk.

<sup>56</sup> They used to make many buckskin blankets upriver.

Vastáran<sup>57</sup> takunpiθxúpparaři, xas takunpíkrúpsař 'a:nmū:k 'u:m pakun'íkrú:pti'. Vúra pukó:vúra pikrúpsá:ptihá:p, 'ápap vura ní:nnamitc 'usúrùkká:hiti', va:ká:n pe:hé:raha kun'íyvá:yramnihe'ec. Táffirapu vúra takunkifútteak 'ávahkam paká:n 'usúrùkká:hiti'. 'Ápap takun'ic-náptceak 'icví táffirapu'<sup>58</sup>, sákri vura takuníkyav. Vúra pútta:va:ká:n su:mahyá:nnátihap pe:hé:raha'. Vúra patakká:nnimitc xas pakun'íhrú:vti', xas pakun'íkyá:ti pa'uhspn'u:k, ta'apxan-ké:mmite. Vúra tapu'imtaraná:mhitihára pamukxúrik, xas pakun'íhrú:vti'. Yáv 'ukupé:vá:yricukahiti', pakunpíhtá:nvuti pe:hé:raha'. Va:kumá:i'i pakuntápkú:pputi: va:'um pu'iftcikinko:tthihařa. Takun'áku 'ávahkam va:kári yav tukupé:vá:yricukahá'. Kahapxan'uhspnukva:kunkupé:θvúyá:nnahiti'.

F. Pahú:t kunkupe:kyá:hiti pe:hé:rahamáhyá:nnarav kaháp-xa'a:n<sup>58a</sup>

Patcimi kunikrúppárě:caha:k pa'íppam, xas kó:mahite vura takunpú:θař. Pupuxxwítc pú:θan-tihap karu vúra. Pavura kó:mahite kunpú:θunti', pakó:mahite

mouth together in the middle. They cover it with a buckskin strip, and sew it together, with Indian twine they sew it. They do not sew it all up, one end is left open, where they will put the tobacco in. They just stuff a buckskin in on top in the hole. At the other end they put on a piece of buckskin as a patch. They do not put much tobacco in it. It is an old one that they use, that they make into a tobacco basket; it is already an old hat. The patterns can no longer be made out when they use it. It spills out good, whenever they get it out. That is what they like it for: it does not stick [to the basket]. They just tap it [the basket with a stick] and it spills out good. An upriver hat tobacco basket is what they call it.

(HOW THEY MAKE A TOBACCO CONTAINER OUT OF AN UPRIVER HAT)<sup>58a</sup>

When they are going to sew with sinew, then they soak it for a while. They do not soak it too much either. They soak only as much as they are going

<sup>57</sup> They double a buckskin strip over the edges.

<sup>58</sup> Or tafirapu'icví:ttatc.

<sup>58a</sup> For purposes of study, an "upriver hat" in the national collections was made into a tobacco basket by Imk'anvan. The specimen thus converted is National Museum Spn. No. 19293. Hat collected at McCloud River, Shasta County, California, by Livingston Stone, accessioned July 20, 1876, flat top 4½ inches across, estimated original height, 3¾ inches. Dimensions of finished tobacco basket, 10½ inches long, 3¾ inches wide; opening 1½ inches long, ¾ inch wide; loop 1½ inches long. (See Pl. 26, b, c, d.)

kunihró·víc. Páttay takunpúθθa-  
raha'ak, 'uxé·ttcítchiti', 'upíp-  
pú·nti'.

Pataxánnahicte 'upúθθarahiti-  
ha'ak, xas va; 'ievit takuníexá·y-  
cùr. Xas takuní·vusúvus.<sup>59</sup> Xas  
takuntáxvič. Xas takuní·ixxač.<sup>60</sup>  
Takunθakikíkki'ñ. Takunpap-  
putcayá·tcha'. Xas 'apkúrukkan  
takunparíci·hvá', yíttcé·te vúriá.  
Va; vura ko'samáyá·tcás takuník-  
yáv pakó;s kunikrúppare'c.

Takunpikrúpsaþ, pa apxaní·ap-  
má·n'nak. Xákkarari 'utaxnana-  
nicukvatc. 'Áppapkam takunsúp-  
pifha pa'ipám'a;n. Xas taku-  
nikrúprič 'ipíhsí·hmú·k. Taku-  
niyunkúrihva pa'íppam. Xas va;  
takunícyú·nkiv pa'íppam. 'Áp-  
pap kuna kú;k takunicrú·nma  
pa'ipám'a;n. Pu'imθávúrú·ktí-  
hàþ. Xas va; vura kunkupé·krúp-  
pahiti'. Kó·vúra 'a·tcip takun-  
pikrúpsaþ. 'Apmá·nmú·k vura  
hitíha;n 'ásxay kunikyá·tti', pak-  
kári kunikrúpparati'.

Xas 'ieví tinihyá·tc takunvúp-  
paksur patáffirapu', pakunienap-  
tcákkare;c posúrùkká·hiti 'áp-  
papkam, pávo'áffivhe'c. Va;  
vura kó; utírihiti takunvúppak-  
sur, pakó; po'sururúprinahiti',  
va; kó; takunvússur. Karixás  
va; takunienáptcač, 'áppapkam  
takuní·vk'a'. 'Ippámmú·k vura  
yav takunkupé·krú·pkáhá'.

<sup>59</sup> Or takuní·vuxávux. These two verbs have the same meaning. They also sometimes do this to the sinew just before they put it in the water.

<sup>60</sup> Or takuní·ixaxavára'a.

to use. If they soak too much, it gets soft, it breaks in two.

After it has soaked a while, they rip a piece off. Then they bend it repeatedly. They clean off the fat or meat. Then they pull off shreds. They run it through the mouth. They chew it good. Then they twist it on the thigh, just one ply. They make it the size they are going to use.

They pinch together the rim of the hat. Both ends are gaping. They make a knot in one end of the sinew thread. Then they make a hole through with the bone awl. They poke the thread through. Then they pull the thread through. Then they pass it back to the other (= first) side. They do not sew it with top stitch. They keep sewing that way. All the middle part they sew together. They keep moistening it with the mouth when they are sewing with it.

Then they cut a widish piece of buckskin to patch the hole with at one end, where the bottom is going to be. They cut it as wide as the hole is, so wide they cut it. Then they patch it, they put it on one end. They sew it on with good sinew.

Xas 'icvi takunvússur patáfpfirapu' teúyite vúra, xas va;  
pe'krúp takunpi'xó'ràriv,<sup>61</sup> pa'ap-  
xan'atcipyák po'krúppahitihi-  
ra'a<sup>k</sup>. 'Axákya:n takunpískrú'pvàr  
'á'tcip. 'Apápmahite kun'úvrin-  
nátì patakuníkrúppaha'a<sup>k</sup>, pa'ípa  
vura pícci:p kunkupe'krúppahat.

'Appapkam vura 'úθxú'psúrà-  
hítì', paká:n kunmáhyánnátì  
pehéraha'.

Karixas vastáran takunl'árip-  
cu<sup>r</sup>, 'usúnnùnúpnínàhítihàtc<sup>62</sup>  
vastáran takuníkrú'pkà', 'íppam-  
mú'uk, 'á'tcip takunkíffuyra<sup>v</sup>,<sup>63</sup>  
pa'apmánti:m takuníkrú'pkà'.  
Pamú'k 'a? kuntákkararihe'c..  
Pamukun'ihé'rahasá'n'và, pamu-  
kun'ihé'rahama'hyánnaramsa'.  
Vura puffá't 'á'pun 'í't.cúrutiha<sup>p</sup>,  
kó'vúra 'a? 'uvárá'l'hvà', yáv xùs  
kunkupa'é·θahiti'.

Tafirapuvúppakatcmú'k takun-  
kifúttca<sup>k</sup> <sup>64</sup> passúrukka'a. Kun-  
xúti xáy 'upásxá'ypà'. Karu va;  
ká:n kuní'váyrá'mníhvùti' karu  
va; ká:n kuní'vayrícukvuti',  
pehéraha'.

##### 5. Pe'cyuxθirix'yō'n'i'hé'rahama'h- yá'nnařav

Hári vura takunsuváxra kitc  
'icyuxθirix'd'nma'a<sup>n</sup>. Va; 'ihé'raha  
kunmáhyánnaramti há'ri. Ku-  
níppé'nti 'icyuxθirix'yō'n'i'hé'rah-  
máhyánnářam. Kunícyú'nnaθ-  
vuti pícci'<sup>p</sup>. Xas va; takunsu-  
váxra', 'ahupmú'k 'uktátri'hva-  
su' pámá'a<sup>n</sup>, va; 'u:m pupak-

Then they cut a narrow piece  
of buckskin, then they cover  
the seam with it, where it is  
sewed in the middle of the hat.  
They sew it double in the middle.  
They keep turning it from side  
to side as they sew it, just as  
they sewed it before.

One end is open, where they  
put the tobacco in.

Then they cut a strip of thong.  
They sew it on looped, with  
sinew; they fold it on itself in  
the middle; they sew it on by  
the mouth. They are going to  
hang it up with that. Their  
tobacco outfit, their tobacco re-  
ceptacles, they never leave them  
on the floor; they hang every-  
thing up, they take good care of  
them.

With a little cut-off piece of  
buckskin they stuff the hole.  
They think it might get damp.  
They spill it in and they spill  
it out through there, the tobacco.

##### (ELK SCROTUM TOBACCO CONTAINER)

And sometimes they just dry  
an elk scrotum. They put to-  
bacco in it sometimes. They  
call it an elk testicle tobacco con-  
tainer. First they skin it off  
whole. Then they dry it, they  
brace the skin inside, with [cross]  
sticks, so it will not collapse

<sup>61</sup> Or takunpi'xúppa<sup>t</sup>, they cover it with.

<sup>62</sup> Lit. it is made a little hole.

<sup>63</sup> To make the loop.

<sup>64</sup> Or takuničívcap<sup>p</sup>, they plug it. The plug of a spn. prepared  
was only 3½" long by 1½" wide. The plug is called kifutcákka<sup>r</sup>.

kiθtúnvutihařa, ... 'ahuptunvētc-  
mǔ'ak. Va; vur ukupévaxrá-  
hahiti'.

Fá;t vura va; kunmáhyā nnà-  
ràmtì patuváxrâha'ak, síkki k'yaru  
vura sù? kunmáhyā nnaramti'.  
Yō'ram kíxxumnipa;k takunták-  
karari.

'Ápsun kuyrá;k mit pamuc-  
yuxθirixxv'ð'øn, i.e. 'nná;k mit  
'uvarári'hva', yō'ram kíxxùm-  
nipa'ak. Síkk 'umáhyā nnahiti'.  
Sikihmáhyā nnaramsa mit.

together, with little [cross] sticks.  
They dry it that way.

They put anything inside, when  
it is dry, spoons too they put in-  
side. In the corner of the yoram  
they hang it up.

Old Snake had three elk tes-  
ticles [i. e. scrotums], they were  
hanging up in the living house,  
in the corner of the yoram.  
Spoons were in them. They were  
spoon holders.

IX. Pahú·t mit va;<sub>x</sub> kunkupapé·h-  
vápiθvahitihat pehē·raha'

(HOW THEY USED TO SELL TOBACCO)

Payíθθa 'ára ta·y mu'ávaha-ha'<sup>a</sup>k, patu'a·púnma vura pukó-vúr 'ihrō·vicařa, púya va;<sub>x</sub> ká·kkum tuyé·críhvà', takunžik-váric. Pa'asiktáva;<sub>x</sub>n 'u;<sub>m</sub> pakuníkvárichti pa'ávaha'. Ku-nippé'er: "Pú·hára, 'ínná·k 'u;<sub>m</sub> pa'asiktáva;<sub>x</sub>n 'íkváricci'." Pýayava;<sub>x</sub> xas 'ínná·k tó·váric pa'-asiktáva;<sub>x</sub>n.

Yakún 'u;<sub>m</sub> 'utō·nti pakó-kasípnu'<sup>a</sup>k, pamu'ávaha'. Há·ri pa'ávansa 'u;<sub>m</sub> vura púva 'á·pún-mutihára pakó· 'u;<sub>m</sub> pamu'ávaha'.

Kúna vúra 'u;<sub>m</sub> pa'ávansa 'ihé·raha xas 'uyé·crí·hvùti', 'ihé·raha xas kuníkvárichti pa'ávansa'. 'Ápxa;<sub>x</sub>n 'usuprávarati pe·hé·raha'. Piθváva kunθárihti 'ápxa;<sub>x</sub>n 'axyàr pe·hé·raha'. Va;<sub>x</sub> kunku-patō·rahiti'. 'Ápxa;<sub>x</sub>n 'á·ttcípári kuyná·kkite karu kunθárihti'.

Pa'asiktáva;<sub>x</sub>n patakunžíkváric pa'ávaha', kuna vúra pě·cpük tu'áffic kitc, va;<sub>x</sub> vúra pamu'ávan tu'é·er. Pa'ávansa 'u;<sub>m</sub> pe·cpuk xùs 'u'é·thi', pa'asiktáva;<sub>x</sub>n 'u;<sub>m</sub> pú·icpük xùs 'é·thihařa, 'ávansa 'u;<sub>x</sub> musípnü·kkiθ 'uθā·n-niv, yô·ram 'à?. Yô·ram 'à? 'u;<sub>m</sub> vura 'asiktáva;<sub>x</sub>n hâ·ri xas 'uvúrá·yvuti', ðí·vríhvak yô·ram 'à?. Payáffus kuníkyá·rati yuxθá·ram, xanvâ·t, tínti'<sup>i</sup>n, 'íp, 'axyû·s, 'úruhsa', sápru'<sup>a</sup>k, kó-vúra va;<sub>x</sub> payáffus kuní·hru·vti',

When a person has lots of food, when he knows that he can not use it all up, then he sells some; they buy it from him. It is the woman that they buy the food from. They tell one: "No; buy it from the woman in the living house." Then one buys it from that woman in the living house. She always counts how many storage baskets of food there is. Sometimes the man does not know how much food he has.

But the man is the one that sells smoking tobacco; they buy it from the man. He measures the tobacco with a basket hat. They pay him a piθváva dentalium for a hat full of tobacco. They figure it that way. And for half a basket full they pay a kuyná·kkite dentalium.

The woman is the one that they buy the food from, but the money she only touches; she gives it to her husband. The man takes care of money; the woman does not take care of money; the man is the one who has his money basket setting there, on the yoram bench. A woman seldom goes around the yoram bench, around the bench above the yoram. What they use for making a dress, abalone, clam, flint pendants, juniper seeds, bull-pine nuts,

'ávansa 'u:m va:púxxùs 'é·θti-hàrà, 'asiktává:n 'u:m va:xus 'u'é·θti', pa'asiktavan?ù"p.

Pa'ávaha takunikváriccaha'a:k, pécpuk páva:takunikváriccaraha'a:k, 'ú·vrík'yàpù<sup>1</sup> pécpuk. Va:kunkupé·θvúyá·nnahiti 'ú·vrík'yapu'ícpuk, pa'ávaha'-ó·rähä pécpuk. Takunpí:p: "Va:páyk'yuk .. pa'atevivk'yampíkvas 'ú·vrík'yapu', va: pay paffúrax 'ú·vrík'yapu'."

Papuvúra få:t xútihapha'a:k kiri nuθθí:c, va:takunpí:p: "U:mkun púxay 'ára:r 'ú·vríktihäp."

### 1. Pámítva pakó'ó·rahitihat pehé·raha'

'Ápxa:n 'axyar pehé·raha kuy-ná·kkítck'a'íru.<sup>2</sup> 'u'ó·rahiti', karuhá·ri parä·mvaraksá·mmútihán.<sup>3</sup> Vúra va:kunθí:nnati pa'apxán-panammapatc papihni·ttcítcas pakunsuprávarati pehé·raha. Teí-mite vura 'uyá:hiti pa'ápxa:n, púkutca:ktihäp, xutnahitc vúra kunikyá:tti'.

disk beads, olivellas, everything that they use on a dress, a man does not take care of; a woman takes care of them, they are women's property.

When they buy food the money that it is sold for is called 'ú·vrík'yapu'. They call it 'ú·vrík'yapu' money, the money for which food is sold. They say: "That condor plume is 'ú·vrík'yapu', this woodpecker scarlet is 'ú·vrík'yapu'."

If they do not want to sell anything, then people say: "They do not take anything [any money] from anybody."

(PRICE OF TOBACCO)

A hat full of tobacco is worth a third-size dentalium, or a full-size woodpecker scalp. The old men keep a small-sized hat for measuring tobacco. The hat does not hold much, they do not press it down, they just put it in there loose.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. 'ip ni'ú·síprè'et, I picked it up.

<sup>2</sup> Third-size dentalium, sometimes called kuynakitck'a'iruh'arák-ka:a:s, old man third-size dentalium.

<sup>3</sup> Full size woodpecker head, lit. one in which the scarlet reaches the bill. The kinds with smaller scarlet, from the male birds, are called 'icví:tta:c.

## X. Pahú·t kunkupe·hé·rahiti'

### 1. Po·hrâ·m

A. Payiθθúva k<sup>y</sup>ō·k mit kuma-  
'uhra<sup>a</sup>m<sup>3a</sup>

Va;<sub>x</sub> vura kitc k<sup>y</sup>ō·ka'ahup-  
rúhra<sub>x</sub>m mit kunikyá·ttihat xavic-  
rúhra<sup>a</sup>m,<sup>1</sup> karu faθip'rúhra<sup>a</sup>m,<sup>2</sup>  
karu xuparic'rúhra<sup>a</sup>m.<sup>3</sup> Xavic-  
rúhra<sub>x</sub>m karu faθip'rúhra<sub>x</sub>m va;<sub>x</sub>  
kitc kunic vura k<sup>y</sup>ō·k mit pakunik-  
yá·ttihat.

Xuparic'rúhra<sub>x</sub>m yurukvā·ra-  
'uhramíkyáv. Púmit vúra va;<sub>x</sub>  
'ikyá·ttihaphat puxx<sup>w</sup>íte pánnu;<sub>x</sub>  
kuma'árá·raš, va;<sub>x</sub> vura kunic  
'umússahiti pafaθip'rúhra<sup>a</sup>m.  
Kuna vura paxuská·mhar va;<sub>x</sub>  
mit kitc kunic kunikyá·ttihat  
paxupári'<sup>1c</sup>.

Papi'ē·p va'úhrá·msahanik va;<sub>x</sub>  
vura kítchanik xavic'rúhra<sup>a</sup>m, va;<sub>x</sub>  
vura kō· kitc pamukun'rúhra<sub>x</sub>m-  
hanik pe'kxaréyav papikvah va;<sub>x</sub>  
panuθittí·mti'.

Va;<sub>x</sub> vura yú·xas<sup>4</sup> su' xé·ttcic  
pamússu<sup>w</sup>f, pavura xávic uku-  
pitti', kúna vura púmit vura va;<sub>x</sub>

(TOBACCO SMOKING)

(THE PIPES)

(THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PIPES  
THAT THERE USED TO BE)<sup>3a</sup>

The only kinds of wooden pipes they used to make were of arrowwood, manzanita, and yew. The kinds they made most were of arrowwood and manzanita.

The yew pipe is a downriver Indian make. Our people did not make it much. It looks like the manzanita pipe. But they [our people] made more bows of the yew wood.

But the old style of pipe is the arrowwood pipe alone, that was the only kind the Iqxareyavs used to use according to what we hear in the myths.

Elder is soft-pithed, like arrowwood is, but they never made pipes of it. They were afraid of

<sup>1</sup> Xávic, Arrowwood, Mock Orange, *Philadelphus lewisii* Pursh var. *gordonianus* Jepson.

<sup>2</sup> Fáθi'<sup>1</sup>p, the wood of any one of the four species of manzanita occurring in or near the Karuk country. The wood of any of these species could be used indifferently for making a pipe.

<sup>3</sup> Xupári'<sup>1c</sup>, Western Yew, *Taxus brevifolia* Nutt.

<sup>3a</sup> For illustrations of pipes see Pls. 27, 30, 34; also the illustrations in Powers (reproduced as Pl. 29 of this paper), Mason, McGuire; Goddard, Dixon, and Kroeber (for references see pp. 23-34).

<sup>4</sup> Yú·xas, Blue Elder, *Sambucus glauca* Nutt.

'ikyá·tihaphat po·hrâ·m. Kun-  
þá·ytihat mit payú·xas, mit kuni-  
píttihat ke·micappíric, puya·ha-  
rappíric.

Ká·kum 'ukkð·rahina·tihanik  
karu ká·kum vura pu'ikkýð·rahi-  
tihaphanik pa'ahup?úhra'·m, xá·t  
fá·t vura kuma'áhuþ. Káruma  
vúra 'ührámká·msa va; vura  
'ikkýð·rí·puxsahanik hárí. Ta·y  
mit vura 'u;mkun káru vura  
púmit 'ikkýð·tahitihaphat pamu-  
kun?úhra'·m. Pa'ararakká·ní-  
mitcas pamukun?úhrá·mhanik  
pe·kkýð·rí·ppuxsa'.

Karu vura ká·kum 'u;mkun  
'aso·hram?úrā·mhánik pamukun-  
?úhrá·mhañik, kó·vúra 'áshanik  
po·hrâ·m.

Mi tavé·ttak va; pa'apxantín-  
nihite kuniwyíhukkaþ, ta;y pe·k-  
yá·ras. Va; kári vúra ko·vura  
kunic tayíþ pakunikyá·tti pa'á-  
ra'·r. Va; vura kari kunikyá·s-  
sip pavura kó· kuma'úhra'·m  
kunikyá·tti'. Ká·ku mit 'apxan-  
tinihite?úhra;·m kunic kunikyá·t-  
tihaþ. Yítokúnicitas pa'ührâ·m  
va; mit pakunikyá·ttihaþ.<sup>5</sup>

elder, they said it was poison  
wood, dead person wood.

Some wooden pipes no matter  
of which kind of wood they were  
made were provided with stone  
bowls and some were without  
stone bowls. Even big pipes  
were bowlless sometimes. Lots of  
the men did not have any stone  
bowl on their pipes. Those were  
the poor people's pipes, the ones  
that had no stone bowls.

And some people had stone  
pipes, the whole pipe of stone.

After the white people came,  
there were lots of tools. Then  
the Indians worked everything  
different. They started in then  
to make all kinds of pipes. They  
made some like white men's pipes.  
They were funny looking pipes  
that they made.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Pl. 27, *d*, shows Nat. Mus. specimen No. 278473, apparently collected at the Hupa Reservation, which is declared by Imk'yanvan to be a typical pipe carved out by the Indians in imitation of a White man's pipe. She even said that she suspected the soldiers at Hupa had whittled out such a pipe, and not Indians at all. To show how totally unfamiliar Imk'yanvan was with northern California all-wood pipes of a kind not made by the Karuk-Yuruk-Hupa, with very slender stem and a portion suddenly becoming much thicker at the bowl end, she declared that the pipes of this type shown in Powers' Fig. 43 (reproduced as our Pl. 29), from McCloud River, Feather River, and Potter Valley, are also freak pipes, made by Hupas "mocking" the White man pipes.

a. Paxaviclúhra<sup>a</sup>m<sup>5a</sup>

(THE ARROWWOOD PIPE)<sup>5a</sup>

a'. Pe'kxaré·ya va;<sub>2</sub> mukunlúh-  
rā·mhanik xaviclúhra<sup>a</sup>m

(THE ARROWWOOD PIPE WAS THE  
PIPE OF THE IKKAREYAVS)

Pi'ē·p mit 'u;<sub>2</sub>m vúra ta;<sub>2</sub>y pax-  
xávic Kaltimln<sup>6</sup> 'inirahíram pax-  
xávic. Va;<sub>2</sub> vura kumá'i*ihani*k,  
pattá·yhánik, pe'kxaré·yav 'u;<sub>2</sub>m-  
kun káru vúra va;<sub>2</sub> pakuníkyá·t-  
tihanik pavimtá;p, karu pakun-  
níhař, karu pám̄ti·kké'<sup>7</sup>r, karu  
imθá·tvar, karu tákksař, karu  
papasni·kkvé'<sup>8</sup>r va;<sub>2</sub> kunlikyá·t-  
tihanik, pakkó'r<sup>9</sup> karu vura va;<sub>2</sub>  
kuníkyá·ttihanik paxxávic. Xa-  
viclúhra<sup>a</sup>m karu pakuníkyá·t-  
tihanik, tcántcá·fkuničas. Xavic-  
lúhra<sup>a</sup>m papikváhahirak va;<sub>2</sub>úh-  
rā·mhaňik.

Long ago there was lots of arrowwood at Katimin rancheria. That was why there was lots of it, because the Ixxareyavs were making flint pointed arrows, and wooden pointed arrows, and Indian cards, and shinny sticks, and shinny tassels, and whistles too they were making, and comb sticks too they were making of arrowwood, and they were making arrowwood pipes too, white ones. It was the arrowwood pipe that they had in story times.

b'. Xaviclúhná·mite mit  
mu'úhra<sup>a</sup>m xikí·hič

(SQUIRREL JIM'S PIPE WAS A  
LITTLE ARROWWOOD ONE)

'Ieā'n mit va;<sub>2</sub> ká;<sub>2</sub> nummáhat  
Xikí·hič, pihní·ttcič, ke'vk'yaríh-  
θu"<sup>10</sup>f, kári mit kari k'yá:n kunl-  
runná·tihat teiccíhařas. Só·yas  
kunlaramsíprinnati', va;<sub>2</sub> ká:n  
mit kunlrunná·tihat, payé'm  
takō', tapuva;<sub>2</sub> 'írunná·tihap. Xas  
'uppi:p: "Táni'a·tcítcha;<sub>2</sub> pa-  
takí·kmahař. Má·sū'm<sup>10</sup> 'íp  
nihé'řat, víri va;<sub>2</sub> tánípá·tteur  
pananilúhra<sup>a</sup>m." "Tcáeñ, máník  
nu;<sub>2</sub> páppive'<sup>11</sup>c." Xas kunic pata-

Once we met old Squirrel Jim at Three Dollar Bar Creek, people used to travel through there on horseback, coming from Sawyer's Bar, they used to travel through there, now they do so no longer, they do not travel through there any longer. Then he said: "I am glad to see you folks. I took a smoke a short distance upcreek, and then I lost my pipe." "All right, we will look for it." Then

<sup>5a</sup> See Pl. 27, *a, c, e.*

<sup>6</sup> There was xávic on the Ishipishrihak side, too.

<sup>7</sup> Indians cards were also less frequently made of pihtíři.

<sup>8</sup> Whistles of arrowwood were made for children, and were also used in the war dance, brush dance, and deerskin dance.

<sup>9</sup> A stick of arrowwood a foot or more long, used by the men for dressing the hair after bathing, also used ceremonially in the new year ceremony.

<sup>10</sup> Or má·súkam. Referring to up the Salmon River and its tributaries.

kinvá·m'yuv xas 'uppi·p: "Ana-na'úhná·m'mite."<sup>11</sup> 'Uxus xáy kunxus 'ata fá·t 'apxantí·tcé·uhra'·m.

c'. Pahú·t kunkupe kyá·hiti  
xavicé·uhra'·m<sup>11a</sup>

Takun?áppiv hó·y kite xavicé·ip-pa', hó·y 'ata kite payáv 'u'i·hya. 'Ararapí·mate vúra 'u·m ta·y mit paxá·vic. Há·ti vura máruk tákunma po·hramé·kyá·ya·v, puya-ava; kári takunpi·p: "Va; ká·n yáv 'u'i·hya po·hramé·kyá·ya·v, fí·ppa·yav, 'uhramé·kyá·ya·v va; ka;·n 'u'i·hya."

Patakunikyá·vicaħa;k pax-a-vicé·uhra'·m, takuníkpá·ksúr pax-xavicé·ásxa;y 'icvit.<sup>12</sup> Ká·kum pa·áhup puyé·pcáha·ra, pa·uhramé·kyá·ya·v, tírhca pa·áhup. Paká·n kunic 'úmxú·tsurahiti', vaká·n takuníkpá·ksúr, va; 'u·m púva; ká·n 'imxú·tsúrahitihe·cara po·hrámé·ccak. Vura hári vúrava pakuníkpá·kti paxxá·vic. Va; 'u·m kari yé·pea', va; 'u·m pu·imxáxá·ratihára, papicyavpí·c takunikyá·ha'·k, va; 'u·m kári pa'íppa 'iváxra su·.

as he passed us, he said: "A little Indian pipe." He was afraid people would think it was a White man pipe.

(HOW THEY MAKE AN ARROWWOOD PIPE)<sup>11a</sup>

They hunt for where there is an arrowwood bush standing, where there is one that ought to be good. There were lots of arrowwood trees close to the rancheria [of Katimin]. Sometimes they see upslope a good one for a pipe, and then they say: "There is a good one standing there, good for a pipe, a straight one [bush], one good for making a pipe is standing there."

When they are going to make an arrowwood pipe, they cut off a piece of the green arrowwood. Some sticks are not good for making a pipe, they are widish [not round]. They make the cut where it is swollen [where twiglets branch off], so it will not be swollen in the body of the pipe. They cut the arrowwood at any time. They are good ones, do not crack, when they make them in the fall; the tree is then dry inside.

<sup>11</sup> He chanted the word, holding the vowel of the penult very long.

<sup>11a</sup> For arrowwood pipes in various stages of making and also 4 finished pipes (only the third pipe from the right-hand end is of manzanita) see Pl. 30.

<sup>12</sup> The arrowwood used for pipes is from  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch to 2 inches in diameter, the pith channel is  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch to  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter. Practically all pieces are straight enough to produce a straight pipe when dressed off, and although the pith channel is often far to one side of the center, the pipe can be centered about it in the dressing.

Píccí:p, va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n takuntárup-kuri paká:n 'ihé·rah u'i·θre'<sup>e</sup>c,<sup>13a</sup> po·hnam'íppanite, va:<sub>a</sub> 'u:m xé·ttcítce pakuntáructi'.<sup>14</sup> Teaka-'í·tc kúnic pakuntá·tcti'. Puyáv-hara payíttcakanite puxx<sup>w</sup>ítc takuntá·ttcaha'<sup>a</sup>k. Pamussúruvar xáy 'utánníha'. Xáy va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n kunvúppakuri passúruvár; hárí 'áppapvári passúruvár. Va:<sub>a</sub> 'u:m yáv 'ukupattá·tcáhití pakunírú·hiha'<sup>a</sup>k. Yíθea 'uhrá:m vúra ta:y pamutá·vé'<sup>e</sup>p.

Puhitíha:n 'atcipyá·khára pamussúruvár,<sup>15</sup> po·hram'ahúp'lá-tcip, hárí tí·mvári pamus-súruvár.<sup>16</sup> Vura va:<sub>a</sub> puhúnhara xá:t pu'atcipyá·khára pamus-súruvár,<sup>15</sup> vura kunímm<sup>y</sup>ú·sti pakunxúti va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n várihe:c pas-súruvár. Va:<sub>a</sub> vura kunkupatáruk-kahiti po·hram'íppa:n, xas va:<sub>a</sub> vura kunkupatárukkahiti káru pakunníha:, pakunihara'íppan-ka:, paká:n kunvéhk'yurivuti payúv.

'Ávahkam karu vura takunik-xárip, va:<sub>a</sub> vura takunkupé·xárip-aha po·hrá:m pakunkupe·kyá-he'<sup>e</sup>c, pakari xé·ttcítce.

Karixas takunsuváxra', má-kavánnihí:c,<sup>17</sup> pu'imfirárl'khara vu:a. 'Imtcáxxahamú·karu vura puyávhára, 'úmtcú·nti'.<sup>18</sup> 'Ahiram'ávahkam 'á? va:<sub>a</sub> ká:n pakun-suváxra'htí', 'ínná:k, takunták-

They first make hole where the tobacco is going to be, on top of the pipe. It is soft when they make the hole. They dig out the bowl end of the pipe, just as they dig out an arrow, the tip end of an arrow, where they stick the foreshaft in.<sup>14</sup> They also work it outside, they work it to the shape of the pipe, while it is still soft. One ought to whittle it off slow. It is not good to cut it too much in one place. The hole might get spoiled. They might cut into the hole; sometimes the hole is to one side. It is good to whittle it as it is being revolved. One pipe makes lots of whittleings.

The hole is not always in the middle, in the middle of the stick; sometimes the hole is to one side. It makes no difference if the hole is not in the center, they watch where the hole is going to come.

Then they dry it, a little back (from the fireplace), not where it is so hot. They dry it there above the fireplace, inside the living house. It is not good to dry it in the sun either, it cracks. They dry it there above the fireplace inside the living house; they hang it up. It must dry slowly. They do that way so

<sup>13a</sup> Or 'u'i·θré·ciřák.

<sup>14</sup> See Pl. 33, *a*, for dug-out shaft tip of Karuk arrowwood arrow ready to receive foreshaft.

<sup>15</sup> Or pamússu'f, its pith.

<sup>16</sup> Since the stone pipe bowl conceals the centering or noncentering of the big end of the pipe about the pith cavity, the Karuk are not careful about that end; and they are also careless about centering the mouth end about the hole, some pipes having the hole to one side.

kárári. Teaka'í'te po·váxrá·hti'. Va;<sub>x</sub> kunkupé·kyá·hiti va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> pu'ímtcú·ntihárà,<sup>17</sup> va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> sákrí·vhé'<sup>e</sup>c. Pató·mteúrahá;k, pakuníkyá·ttiha"<sup>a</sup>k, takunpí·p: "Tó·mxáxxa"<sup>a</sup>r.<sup>18</sup>

Hú·t manva vura kumá'i·ihanik papu'íkmahátcrá;m suváxrá·hti-haphanik paxavie·úhra"<sup>a</sup>m. Vura-hú·t manva vura kumá'i·ihanik 'Ínná· kitc kunsuváxrá·htihaník. Pakunníhar 'u;<sub>m</sub> vura nik há·ri 'íkmaháterá;m kunsuváxrá·htihaník, pú mit vura haríxxay nammáhat 'íkmaháterá;m kunsuváxrá·hti' pa'uhramíkyáv, vúra mit 'Ínná· kitc kunsuváxrá·htihañ ikrívrá;m'mak.

Paxxavic 'u;<sub>m</sub> vúra pupáram-vútiháp. Punaθíttí·mtihara xavic kunpáramvuti', kunsuváxrá·htihañ mit vúra kitc 'ínná;k. Pafaθipí·úhra;m vúra kitc pakun-páramvúti'.

Po·hramíkvav xá;t vúra hari vura kunikyav va;<sub>x</sub> vur 'umtcú-re'<sup>e</sup>c, pavúr umtcúré·caha"<sup>a</sup>k. Há·ri vura pu'ímtcú·ntihárà, xá;t káru su<sup>t</sup> ásxa"<sup>a</sup>y, xá;t karu xáttik-rúpmá'. Há·ri'ávahkam 'u·aram-sí·privti pè·mteùr, karu há·ri sú-kam 'u·áramsfí·privti'. Patcé·mya;<sub>tc</sub> vura yáv takunpe·kyássip-re·ha"<sup>a</sup>k, karu patcé·mya;<sub>tc</sub> ta-kuntárukkaha;k po·hramíppañ, pakari'ásxa"<sup>a</sup>y, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> pu'ifyé·mtcú·ntihárà, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> kári pa-mu'áhup xùtnáhite, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> yáv 'ukupe·vaxráhahiti'. Va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> yá·mahukatc pakári 'ásxa"<sup>a</sup>y, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> yá·mahukatcíkyáv, karu vu-ra va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> pu'ímtcú·ntihárà.

it will not crack, so it will be hard. When it cracks when they are making it, they say: "It is cracked open."

It was funny that they did not dry the arrowwood pipes in the sweathouse. It was funny that they always used to dry them in the living house. The arrows they sometimes used to dry in the sweathouse. But I never saw them drying a pipe that they were making in the sweathouse; they just dried them inside, in the living house.

The arrowwood they did not boil. I never heard that they boiled arrowwood, they just dried it in the house. But the manzanita they boiled.

Pipes in the making will crack, if they are destined to crack, at no matter what season the wood is gathered. Sometimes they do not crack although full of sap and in the springtime. They start to crack both from the outside and from the pith channel. If dressed at once to the shape of the pipe and if bowl cavity is dug out at once, while still green, it will not be so likely to crack, for its wood is then thinner and it dries evenly. It is easy when it is still green, easy to work, and that way it does not crack either. Sometimes they used to rub on grease on the outside of the pipe

<sup>17</sup> Or pu'ímxáxá·rátihárà.

<sup>18</sup> This is the verb also regularly used of a finished pipe cracking.

Há·ri 'aθkúrit kuniyvúrukti po·hramikyav'ávahkaṁ, va; 'u:m pu'iváxra·htihara pamu'iccaha su?, teaka'f'tc kunic 'uváxră·hti', va; 'u:m pu'imtcú·ntihára. Há·ri vúrava mit vúra kunikyá·tihat pamukun?úhra'sm, picyavpíc'u:m pakaniyá'a·tc, va; 'u:m kar iváxra pa'áhuþ, karu vura pu'imtcáxha·ra. Há·ri vur xavicliváxra pakunikyá·ratihárik, va; vura yávhaník, pu'imtcú·ntihára, va; 'u:m sákri:v vura kitchanik pé·kyav, sakrivíkyavhaník. Va; vura takunpíppá·teur po·hramíkyav patakunmáha'k tó·mteur, há·ri vura pupipá·teúratiháþ, va; ká:n vúra takun?í·teur, kari yíø kúna takunpíkyav.

that they were making, so its juice would not dry in it, and the drying would be slow, so that it would not crack. Pipes were made at all seasons of the year, but the fall was the proper time, for at that time the wood was dry and the weather was not hot. Sometimes they made pipes out of dry arrowwood. They were good ones, they did not crack. The only trouble was that they were hard to make, difficult to make. A pipe in the making they threw away when it was found to be cracked. Sometimes they did not even take the trouble to throw it away, they just let it lie where it was, and started to make another one. They dry the pipe they are making a little above the fireplace so that it will ram out easier.

They ram it out with any kind of a stick; they hammer it [the stick], chisel fashion, they work it from both ends.

And sometimes they ram out the hole in the pipe with a bone. With a bone awl, a rammer, they ram it out. They use a cannon

<sup>19</sup> Their "pipe work."

<sup>20</sup> Often with a sárip, a hazel stick prepared for use in basketry. The pith is so soft that it can easily be removed with a toothpick. Sometimes the pith is so loose that air can be sucked through it while still intact in the piece of wood cut to the length of the pipe. While the Indians speak of it as being rammed out, it is really dug out as well as rammed out. The Karuk never heard of splitting a pipe tube longitudinally, removing the pith or otherwise making a channel and then gluing the halves together again, as is practiced by the Ojibway in making their pipe stems.

mǔ·k, pakun̄íkfutráθθùnàràtì'. Sakanik̄o·ra'íppi', pufitc̄apsih̄íppi' va; pakun̄íhrú·vti', kunθi·myá·tti, pícci:p pa'íppi', vâ·ram vura kun̄íkyá·tti pamússi<sup>21</sup>, ní·nnamite vura kun̄íkyá·tti', kunθi·myá·tti 'ássámū'k. Karixas takun̄íkfū·traθun, xákkarari vura kun̄íarávú·kti'.

Kunsuváxrá·hti pícci'p Va;<sup>'u:m</sup> xé·ttcite patuvaxráha;k pamússu"f. 'Á·pun tó·kyívic paxavic̄íkfū·tráθùnáp"f, paxavícsu"f. 'Á·pun tukiskúric. Va; kunkupe·θvúyá·nnahiti makarúna paké·vní·kkítcás karu papihní·ttcítcaś, xavic̄íkfū·tráθunap"f, va; kunkupe·θvúyá·nnahiti'.

d'. 'Amvavákkay vo' á·mnúp-rihti paxavic̄uhramsúruvar

a''. Payiθúva kō· kumapássay k̄aru 'amvavákkaý

Karu hâ·ri 'amvavákkaymǔ·k takunθáruprinavaθ po·hramsúruvar.

Patakun̄íkk̄yáraha;k pa'á·m'-ma, pimná·n'ni, 'itrō·pasúppa:vur é·k tamé·ktáttay pavákkay, pe·knimnamké·mmítcha'ak. Va; pa'amve·váxráhak su? pakun̄írá·rā·rahiti', 'ú·yvaha karu vura sù? kun̄írá·rahiti', pufitc̄iváxra karu vura kun̄í·mti', 'ikye·puvké·mmítca karu vura kun̄írá·rahiti'.

'Amvavákkay 'u:m vura vâ·n-námítcás, pássay<sup>21</sup> 'unúhyá·ttas, 'ipeñukinatcaś. Pimná·ni 'u:m pátta'a:y, 'imfirári'k, pakun̄í·mti pa'á·mmáhak.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ára;r mit k̄áru yíθθa vó·θvú·ytihât Pássay, Ka'tim?í·n mit ukré'et, pa'icvirípmá; mit kuníppé·ntihaſ. There was a person named Salmon Beetle too, he lived at Katimin. He died about 1877.

bone, a deer's leg [bone], they first file the bone off, they make its point long, they make it slender, they file it off with a rock. Then they ram it out, coming from both ends, the pipe.

They dry it first. Its pith is softer when it is dry. The rammings fall on the ground, the arrowwood pith. It is curled up on the ground. The old women and old men call maccaroni that way, arrowwood rammings, that is what they call it.

(A SALMON-GRUB EATS THROUGH THE ARROWWOOD PIPE HOLE)

(THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF SALMON BEETLE AND WORM)

And sometimes they bore out the hole in the pipe with a salmon worm.

When they catch salmon, in summer, in a few days it is full of bugs, if it is in an old living house. They live in the dried salmon, and in the salmon meal too they live, and they eat dried deer meat too, and they live in old untanned deerskins too.

The salmon worms are longish ones, the salmon beetles are short ones. In the summertime there are lots of them, in the warm time, eating on the salmon.

Pássay 'u:m mutúnvi:v 'amvavákkaý. Pavúra kó:vúra kô:s. Pássay 'u:m vura 'á:mmáhak 'u:uruhi:k'ó:ti', 'unuhtunvé:ttcaś, tâ:a:y. 'Amvavákkaý xas takunkítra'. Tcém̄yate ta:y pavákkaý. Tcém̄yate kunké:tcasahiti'. Karixas kúkku:m va:takunkítra', pássay takunpárihi:c. Xas kúkku:m takunpúruhpa'.

Vura 'u:m hitíha:n va:ká:n kun?ára:tâhiti 'a:mmáhak. Hâ:ri va:vúra nu'a:mti pavákkaý, xaθímtup kúnic. Páma:n tanukxí:vcérâhâ:k, va:kari pavákkaý tânumma patakun'ruvo:n-nícukva', patanukxí:vcér. Pa'á:ma patayáv nupikyá:ha:k, va:kari 'f'm tanusá:nnpuk, karixas sárpmú:k tanutâttuyeur pavákkaý, víri pa'á:pu:n takunívra:c, va:vura ká:n takunpérù:npà'. 'Ikrívki kô:k pa'amve:váxra 'á:m-tíhansa:n. Kô:k pakun?á:mti pa'amve:váxra'. Kuyrá:k kô:k pa:pássay karu kuyrá:k kô:k pa'amvavákkaý.<sup>22</sup> Nu:karu kumá:i:i nu:pa'ára:a:r, nu:karu 'amvá:mvá:nsà'.

The salmon worms are the salmon beetle's children. There are all sizes of them. The salmon beetle lays eggs on the salmon, little eggs, lots of them. The salmon worms hatch out. Soon there are lots of the worms. Quickly they grow big. Then they hatch out again, they turn into salmon beetles. Then they lay eggs again.

They live all the year on the salmon. Sometimes we eat some of them, like we do grasshoppers. When we peel the skin off, then we see the bugs crawling out, when we peel it off. When we clean the salmon, we take it outdoors, then we brush it off with a bundle of hazel sticks, then they fall on the ground, and that is where they perish.

There are six kinds of salmon eaters, there are six kinds that eat dried salmon: there are three kinds of salmon beetle and three kinds of salmon worm. And we make seven, we Indians we are salmon eaters too.

<sup>22</sup> The kinds of beetles and grubs described by the Indians have been quite satisfactorily identified.

Efforts to obtain a specimen of either adult or larva of the small bluish black beetle described respectively as the only pássay and 'amvavákkaý which were found in the dried salmon before the Whites came, have not been successful. According to Dr. A. G. Boving, of the Division of Insects, U. S. National Museum, it is probably *Necrobia mesosternalis* Schiffer, which is native to America and reported from Arizona, a species closely resembling in appearance of both adult and larva and in habits the common cosmopolitan *Necrobia rufipes* DeGeer, which has been introduced into America from Europe. The color of the adult is bluish black, and it is smaller than the adults of *Dermestes vulpinus* and *Dermestes lardarius*, which is exactly what the Karuk state. The larva is reddish (according

Kuyrá:k kó:k tapapássa:y: Yíθ-θa pakumapássay va:<sub>ñ</sub> 'u:m vura tū:ppitcaš, 'ikxánnamkúnicitcas, 'ámku:vkunicitcas kú:nic. Pi'é:p víra va'amvapássa:y va:<sub>ñ</sub> pay-kv'ó:k.

Va:<sub>ñ</sub> u:m yíθ kunimmússahiti papássay kē:citecaš, va:<sub>ñ</sub> 'u:m 'ik-xáràmkúnicàš, iθákó:víra 'ikxá-ràmkúnicàš.

to Dr. Boving, more precisely reddish blue or brownish blue) and not very hairy, which agrees with the Indian description of the original pipe-boring worm, listed first in the text, and indicates that the first-listed beetle and worm were adult and young of *Necrobia*. The larvæ of *Necrobia* species live in carcasses, meaty or greasy refuse of all kinds, hides, old clothing, rags, or shoes. While making galleries is not the regular habit of this larva, it is capable of making holes and galleries. A *Necrobia* larva confined in a bottle by Dr. Boving ate its way through the cork. The *Necrobia* larvæ are also well fitted for making galleries since they are practically hairless. *Dermestes* larvæ on the other hand live in soft material and are quite hairy.

The second and third kinds of beetle enumerated in the text have been identified respectively *Dermestes vulpinus* Fabr. (black all over) and *Dermestes lardarius* Linn. (black with the foremost part of the wing-covers yellowish gray). These are both Old World species, now cosmopolitan, and introduced into America by the Whites. They are species occurring in the salmon and seen about the houses of the Karuk at the present time. The worm listed second in the text is the larva of either of these species, the appearance being almost identical. It is interesting that the older Karuk still remember that these are not the old-time kind.

The worm listed last in the text, occurring only in actively rotting salmon, and white in color, is the maggot of fly species.

The boring habits of another *Dermestes* species, *D. nidum*, are of interest in this connection. *D. nidum* lives in the nests of herons from Massachusetts to Texas and eats fish refuse. The larva of this species when about to enter the pupa stage, bores into the heartwood at the broken off end of a twig to a depth of an inch or more (precisely after the manner of Karuk pipe boring), sheds its skin to plug the entrance of the hole, the hair sticking backward to block any intruder, and when the beetle hatches out it is strong enough to back out, ejecting the skin. (Information about habits of *D. nidum* furnished by W. S. Fisher, Division of Insects, U. S. National Museum.)

There are three kinds of salmon beetle already:

One kind of salmon beetle is little, black bluish ones. This is the old-time salmon beetle.

Another kind of salmon beetles are larger, they are black, they are black all over.

Va;<sub>2</sub> vura xá:s kó:s payíθθa kuma pássay kó:s,<sup>23</sup> yiθúva kitc-kunimmússahiti'. Ké·citcas<sup>24</sup> va;<sub>2</sub> káru vuṛa, pa'á·tcip tapúkrá·mavam kumapássay.

Kuyrá:k kó:k karu pa'amvavákkaý:

Yíθθa pakumavákkay kunic 'im-yáttipuxsa'. Va;<sub>2</sub> 'u:m puxxʷítc 'á·xkunicaš, kunic xá:skúnic 'am-tapkunic?á·xkúnicitcaš. Pa'aθ-kuritara'ahup'ássippak va;<sub>2</sub> káru vura ká:n kun?árá·rahiti'. Kun-iméákkarati pa'aθkéít. Pa'áhup fá:t vúrava kun?á·mti pa'aθkúrit kitcha'ak, va;<sub>2</sub> karu kun?á·mti'. Pamakayvaské·mite tanu'úsip-ré'ha'ak, va;<sub>2</sub> káru vura ká:n kun?árá·rahiti' sù?. Va;<sub>2</sub> 'u:m pa-pi'é:p va'amvavákkaý. Va;<sub>2</sub> pá-'u:m va;<sub>2</sub> po·hrá:m θaruprí·nnátihañ, va;<sub>2</sub> pá'u:m pa'amvavákkaý. Kunθíttí·mti va;<sub>2</sub> pikváháhírak kun?íhrú·vtihánik pa'amvavákkaý, va;<sub>2</sub> kumá'i'i pa-vákkaý kun?íhrú·vti'. Va;<sub>2</sub> po·hrámsu:f θaruprí·nnátihañ.

Yíθθ 'u:m pakumavákkay 'im-yáttaras, ké·citcas. Va;<sub>2</sub> 'u:m vúra púva;<sub>2</sub> ká:n 'árá·rahiti haphanik pi'é:p. Payé:m 'u:m vúra va;<sub>2</sub> tátta'ay.

Karixas yíθθa karu tcántcā·f-kunicas pa'amvavákkaý, tú·ppit-caš, va;<sub>2</sub> 'u:m pa'amvaxxá:t kun?á·mti', pa'amve'váxra pató·xá:t-taha'ak, va;<sub>2</sub> kun?á·mti'.

About that same size there is another salmon beetle, only it looks different. They are big ones too, striped across the middle.

There are three kinds of salmon worm too:

One kind of the worms has little hair on. They are very red, they are kind of grayish red ones. In a greasy wooden cupboard they live too. They smell the grease. They eat wood or anything if when it only has grease on it, they eat it. And whenever we pick up an old rag, they are living in it too. That is the old-time salmon worm. That is the tobacco pipe borer, is the salmon worm. Because they heard in the stories that they were using it, that salmon worm, that is why they use it. It eats out the pipe pith.

Another kind of the worms are hairy ones, big ones. They did not use to be here long ago. Now there are lots of them.

Then there is another kind of salmon worms that are white ones, little ones, they eat the rotten salmon, whenever that dry salmon gets rotten, then they eat it.

<sup>23</sup> Or yíθθa kumapássay va;<sub>2</sub> vúra xá:s kó:s, there is another salmon beetle about that same size.

<sup>24</sup> Nondiminutive ké·ttcas would never be applied to salmon beetles, the diminutive, usually translated as larger, being preferred.

b". Pahú·t kunθaruprinává·θtiha-nik pavákkay po·hramsúruvár

(HOW THEY USED TO MAKE THE SALMON GRUB BORE THE PIPE HOLE)

Patuváxra po·hrâ·m, va; ká;n takun̄'va·yramni pa'amvá·θkúrit po·hramtárùkvá·rak. 'A? takun̄'hyi·críhmað. Xas va; kuním-mý'ú·stí'. Tcaka·ímitc vur 'u·úkkùrihtí paekúrit. Púyava; kunímm'ý'ú·stí' yané·kva tuváxra paekúrit, su? va; vura tupík-k'asvař páekúrit.

Karixas va; kári patuváxra', paekúrit, karixas 'amvavákkay takun̄'appi·v, karixas va; ká;n 'ámmáhak takun̄'appiv pavákkay. Sú·ffak ta;y ki pavákkaÿ, súfli·ccak. Karixás va; su? takunθá·nnam'ni, po·hrá·mmak sú?. Kohomayá·tc. vura pavákkay pasu? takunθá·nnam'ni. Karixas 'axváhahmú·k takuniptaxváh-teak, karixas 'a? takuntákkarari 'á·nmú·u·k. Pamússuf va; tu·á·mnúpri'.

Xas pataxxár utákkàrārìhvá-ha'sk, 'axmay íkvúra xás tákunma yanné·kva to·θárùprinahiti po·hrâ·m. Hínup é·kva tó·θáruprin pamússuf po·hramíkyav. Pú-yava; kárixas takuníkyav po·hrâ·m.

Puhitihá·nhara pavákkay 'ih-rú·vtíhap. Va; pa'ára;r va; kumá'i'i vura pavákkay su? u·θamná·mníhvuti', kiri va; nipi-teakuvá·nnáràtí' panani'úhra'·m. Karu há·ri vúra pu'ikyá·ttihara pavákkay, há·ri tó·myáhsap. Va; kite kúníc vura kunkupitti' pakuníkfurá·θùnàtí'.

When the pipe is dry, they spill salmon grease into the hole that has been dug in the pipe. They stand it up on end. Then they watch it. The grease soaks in slowly. Then they see that the grease has dried, the grease has already soaked in.

Then when it gets dry, that grease, then they look for a salmon worm; then they look for the worm there on the dry salmon. There always are lots of them on the backbone, on the backbone meat. Then they put it in, in the pipe. It is a medium-sized worm that they put in. Then with pitch they shut it up. Then they hang it up with twine. It eats its way through.

Then after it has hung for a long time, then all at once they see that the pipe has been bored through. Behold, he has eaten along the pith channel of the unfinished pipe. Then they fix the pipe.

They do not do it with the worm all the time. A man puts it in there just because he wants to brag over his pipe. And sometimes the worm does not do the work, sometimes it gets suffocated. The way that they usually do is to ram it out.

e'. Tcaka'i·mitc'íkyav xas pakun-píkyá:rati po·hrá:m

(THEY ARE SLOW ABOUT FINISHING UP THE PIPE)

Pícci:p va:k kunikyá:tti 'ávah-kam pavura po·hrá:m 'umús-sahitihe'c, karixas 'ippán kuna takuntáruk, karixas takunsuváxra'. Tcaka'i·mitc po·hrám?íkyav xas patakunpíkyá:a:r. Takunkíkfú:tráθùn.<sup>25</sup> Tcaka'i·mitc vura 'asaxyíppitmñ:k<sup>26</sup> kuntaxícxí:cti 'ávahkam. Xara kúnθim-k'yutik'yúttiti 'ássamñ:k, 'íffuθ kuna tcimtcí:kk'yáramñ:k.

f'. Xavic'úhra:m 'u:m sírik'yúnic

Xávic' u:m sírik'yúnic, tcémya:tc kunikyá:tti sírik'yúnic. Tcántcá:fkunic káru. 'Im'yusáyav po·kkó:rahitiha:k 'ikxáramkunic pe·kk'ð'or, paxavic'úhra:a:m. Tcántcá:fkunic.

b. Pafaθip'úhra:a:m<sup>26a</sup>

Fáθei:p kyáru vura kunikyá:tti po·hrá:m. 'Á'xkúnica pafaθip'úhra:a:m. Ta:y vura kunihrú:vti pafáθip, síkki kyáru kunikyá:tti, kar iktí:n, karu tasánsá:rar, kar 'uripihivíkk'ya:t.

a'. Pahú:t kunkupé:kyá:ssipre-hiti pafaθip'úhra:a:m

Pa'ávans uxútiha:k kiri faθíp'úhra:m níkyáv, xas tuvá:ram, tu'áppivar pafáθi:p. Púyava pató:mmáha:a:k, xas 'ievit tó:k-pá:ksùr, ké:tc vura tó:kpá:ksùr,

(AN ARROWWOOD PIPE SHINES)

Arrowwood shines, they quickly polish it. It is white too. It looks pretty when an arrowwood pipe is bowled with a black pipe bowl. It looks white.

(THE MANZANITA PIPE)<sup>26a</sup>

They make pipes of manzanita, too. They are red ones, the manzanita pipes. They use manzanita for lots of things, make spoons, and canes, and acorn-soup scraping sticks, and reels for string.

(HOW THEY START TO MAKE A MANZANITA PIPE)

When a man thinks he wants to make a manzanita pipe, he starts off, he goes to look for manzanita. Behold, when he finds some, then he cuts a piece off, a thick piece,

<sup>25</sup> The informant is grouping both the ramming and the worm-boring processes under the term "ramming."

<sup>26</sup> A chip of this rock was used for many purposes as a knife.

<sup>26a</sup> See Pl. 27, b, and Pl. 30, third specimen from right-hand end.

áxxak tu"árihic va'.<sup>27</sup> Xas to·p-vá·tam, va; kitc tu'é·θ pa'áhup pa'íp 'ukyá·t, pafaθip'áhup.

Kárixas 'á·tcip to·párikvař. Papupárikvaraha'ák, pato·kyá·ha;k su? 'usú·fhiči', va; 'u;m 'umtcúre'ec.<sup>28</sup> Pasu? usú·fhičiha'ák, va; 'u;m vura hitsha;n 'úmtcú·nti', xá;t 'ásxa'ay karu xá;t 'iváxra'. Pa'á·tcip to·párikvaraha;k, pafáθip', va; 'u;m pu'ímtcú·ntihara po·hram'íkyav. Pafáipsíkki karu vúra va; kunkupe·kyá·hiti', kunikxáriprúpramti pamússu'u'f pasikihíckvám.

b'. Pahú·t kunkupappáramvahiti pafaθip'áhup

Karixas píccip pafaθip'áhup 'icahé·mfirak takunpáram'va, va; 'u'm pu'ímtcúre'cařa, va; 'u;m sákriv. Kunpáramvuti 'icahé·mfírak pafaθip'áhup, pa'uhra;m kunikyá·vicaħa'ák, va; vura káru kunínni·cti', pasikihíkyav, pasíkki kunikyá·vicaħa'ák.

c'. Pahú·t hárí 'aθkúrittak kunθá·nkuri po·hram'íkyav

Hárí 'aθkúrittak takunpúθař, hárí 'akrahaθkúrittak, karu hárí vura virusura·θkúrittak.

for he is going to make two out of it. Then he goes home, packing the wood that he has "fixed," the manzanita wood.

Then he splits the wood in the middle. If he does not split it, if he makes it with the heartwood inside, it always cracks. If the heartwood is inside, it always cracks, whether green or dry. But if he splits the manzanita wood, then the pipe that he is making does not split. They make the manzanita spoons the same way too, they chop out the heartwood from inside of the spoon.

(HOW THEY BOIL THE MANZANITA WOOD)

Then the first thing they boil the manzanita wood in hot water, so it will not crack, so it will be stout. They boil the wood when they are going to make a pipe, just as they do to a spoon that is being made, when they are going to make a spoon.

(HOW SOMETIMES THEY SOAK THE PIPE THAT THEY ARE MAKING IN GREASE)

Sometimes they soak it in grease, in eel grease or in bear grease.

<sup>27</sup> The piece of manzanita used for making a pipe must have double the diameter of the large end of the pipe, if the principle of eliminating the heartwood is followed, as Yas always does. Since the largest manzanita pipes, of what is called Yuruk style, are sometimes 2 inches in diameter at the bowl end, a piece of manzanita some 4 inches in diameter is required. Such large pieces are familiar to the Indians, since they are used in making manzanita spoons.

<sup>28</sup> Or 'úmtcú·nti', it always gets cracked.

d'. Pahú·t kunkupattárupkahiti po·hram̑íppań (HOW THEY DIG OUT THE BOWL CAVITY)

Karixas po·hnamíppanite takuntárupkuři, pehē·rah u·í·θré·ci·fak. Taxaravé·tta kunkímnū·p·haňik.

e'. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyá·hiti pamussúruvár

Xas pamusúruvar takuníkyav. Paffáθi:p 'u:m vura pusúrluvárahitihára, puva: kupítihara paxávic ukupitti'.

Payé·m 'u:m vura 'ā·hm·čk takuníkrúprí·nnati', simsim·čimfirám̑úk.

Payé·mninay puxútihap kiri núkyav faθip̑uhramxárahsa', pasimsim·čimfir takuní·yú·nvárá-há:k, viri hitíha:n vura 'úm̑tcú:·nvuti'.

Taxaravé·ttak 'a:h kunθá·nkuri-vutihanik 'uhram̑íppankam xun-yé·p·imnakm̑úk, karixas 'ipfh-sí·hm̑úk kuníkrú·prí·nnatihanik, púyava: vura puyívuvara su?.

f'. Pahú·t 'ávahkan kunkupata-xicxíccahiti', xú·skúnic kunkupe·kyá·hiti k'yáru vuia

Karixas yuhírimū:k 'ávahkam kuntá·vuti', karixas 'ássamū:k takunímk'utik'utáyá·tchà,<sup>31</sup> ko-homayá·tc víra takuníkyav. Takuntaxcxá·crúcuk 'uhnam̑ípanite pámítva 'ā·hm̑úk kunkímnū·ppat'.

Sak?assip'iteúnteur mit pux-xwítc 'ukyá·ratihat Váskak pasfk-ki', pafaθip̑ahupsíkk ukyá·tihať, va: mit 'ávahkam 'utaxicxicca-ratihať, símsi:m 'u:m púmit 'ih-

Then they dig out on top of the pipe, where the tobacco is going to be. They used to burn it out.

(HOW THEY MAKE THE HOLE THROUGH IT)

Then they make the hole. The manzanita wood does not have a hole in it like the arrowwood does.

Now they make the hole in it with fire, with a hot wire.

Nowadays they do not like to make long manzanita pipes, just because when they burn them through with a hot wire, they crack every time.

Formerly they burned out the bowl with a tanbark coal, then they bored it with a bone awl; that way it is not far through.

(HOW THEY DRESS OFF THE OUT-SIDE AND MAKE IT SMOOTH)

Then with a flint knife they whittle off the outside, then they scrape it off good with a rock, they make it to shape. They scrape the bowl where they have burned it out.

Bottle fragments were what Vaskak worked them with most, when he made his spoons, his manzanita wood spoons. With them he scraped the outside of

<sup>31</sup> Or takuntaxicxicáyá·tchà'.

rú·vtíhat 'ávahkam. Papiccí·te tó·kyá·ha;k mit kite símsi;m 'úhrú·vtiháf. Mit upítiháf: Yé·pa-ca pasak'ássip'ítcúntcuř, yáθθaha-sa'. Yá's 'u:m karu vura mit vó·hrú·vtiháf pasak'ássip, pámity ó·kyá·ttiháf pamu'uhrá:m, ta:y mit 'ukyá·ttiháf po·hrá:m.

Xás va: 'ávahkam xú·skúníc takunfyav teimtei'kk'yáramu:k.

### c. Paxuparic'úhra'ám

Payurukvá·ras hárí kunik-yá·tti', ' künipítti', xuparic'úhra'ám. Va: vura kunkupe·kyá·hiti pafatip'úhra'ám.

### d. Pa'aso·hram'úhra'ám<sup>32</sup>

Va: vura kunkupe·kyá·hiti pa'-asó·hra'ám pe·kk'yó:r kunkupe·kyá·hiti.<sup>33</sup> Hárí vura payváhe:m xavramníha;k numá·hti va: kó-ka'úhra'ám,<sup>34</sup> tú·ppitcas pava:kó-ka'úhra'ám.

Hárí vura va: 'ikk'yó:r káru küníppé·nti 'asó·hra:m, küníp-

them. He did not use a knife on the outside. When he first made them was the only time he used a knife. He said: "The bottle fragments are good ones, are sharp ones." And Yas also used to use bottles, when he used to make his pipes, used to make lots of pipes.

Then they smoothe the outside with a scouring rush.

### (THE YEW PIPE)

The downriver Indians sometimes make yew wood pipes, they say. They make them the same way that they make the manzanita pipes.

### (THE STONE PIPE)

They make the stone pipe like they do the stone pipe bowls. Sometimes nowadays in the old ruined houses we find that kind of pipe, they are small ones, that kind of pipes.

Sometimes also they call a stone pipe bowl 'asó·hra'ám. They

<sup>32</sup> 'Asó·hra'ám, lit. stone pipe, is frequently prepounded to 'ikk'yó:r, pipe bowl, to make more prominent the idea of stone pipe bowl, although 'ikk'yó:r means nothing but stone pipe bowl anyway. Similarly 'aso·hram'úhra'ám, lit. stone pipe pipe, is formed, it being felt as a clearer way of expressing stone pipe than is 'asó·hra'ám alone, since 'asó·hra'ám is also the name of a magical worm that eats people in the head.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 154.

<sup>34</sup> "What is apparently a portion of a pipe wholly of stone was picked up on the surface near Honolulu, on the Klamath River. (Fig. 69.) It is, however, different from the type of pipe used by the Shasta, and was regarded by them as mysterious, and probably endowed with great magic power. It is nicely finished on the exterior." Dixon, The Shasta, p. 392. Several Karuk and also Shasta informants have known that all-stone pipes were made by the Indians. They were doctor pipes, hence the connotation of mystery suggested by Dixon's informants.

pé·nti 'asó·hra;m 'ukkó·rahiti  
po·hrâ·m karu hâ·ti kuníppé·nti  
'aso·hram'ikk'yó·r.

Vákkay karu vura vó·θvú·yti  
'asó·hra;m,<sup>35</sup> 'ára;xr kunlá·mti',  
'axvâ·k su'l kunlá·mti', pa'émca  
va; kunθayúnkí·nnáti', pa'ém·m  
ký·á·msa'. Pukúnic xútihap krí  
va; nuθvúyá·nnati pa'asa'úhra;m  
karu vura pe'kk'yó·r 'asó·hra;m  
páva; kumá'i'i pavákkaý, pa-  
aráttâ·nva kumá'i'i.

### B. Po·hram'ikk'yó·r

a. Ká·kum 'ukkó·rahina·ti po-  
hrâ·m

Pufáθθi:p kítchârà pe'kk'yó·r ku-  
nikyâ·rati', xaviclúhra;m káru  
vura 'ikk'yó·r kunikyâ·rati'.

Pa'ararakkâ·nnimitcas va;  
'u:mkun vura pu'ikk'yó·rahitih  
pamukunlúhra;m, xavicluhram-  
múnnaxite vúra, 'u:m vúra.  
Tcé·mya;tc 'umtákta·kti', súlkam  
'u'i·nk'yúti', 'ipanní·tc tó·mtak,  
pehé·raha va; ká:n 'uvraráripti'.

Pa'uhramyé·pe ukkó·râhîna·t-  
ti 'asáxxú·smú·k. 'Ikyâ·kam'ík-  
yav xas po·hrâ;m 'ukó·râhîti'.

Va; 'u:m pe'k'yorayé·pca pa-  
'asá·θk'yúrit kunic kumé·kk'yó·r.

b. Ka'tim'í'n pa'as pakuníp-  
pé·nti 'Ik'yó·rá'as

Va; vúra yítce·tc páva; ku-  
mâ's Katim'í'n. Va; vur óθvú·y-  
ti 'Ik'yó·rá'as. 'Ick'yé·ccak 'uh-  
yárùprámti', 'Asa'uruh'ù·θka:m.<sup>36</sup>

say: "The pipe is bowled with  
an 'asó·hra'm." And sometimes  
they call it an 'aso·hra'm pipe-  
bowl.

There is a kind of worm too  
called 'asó·hra'm, they eat people,  
they eat them inside the head, the  
doctors always suck them out, the  
big doctors. Sometimes they do  
not like to call a stone pipe or a  
stone pipe bowl 'asó·hra'm just  
because of those worms, those  
pains.

### (STONE PIPE BOWLS)

(SOME PIPES HAVE STONE PIPE  
BOWLS)

Manzanita was not the only  
kind that they put stone pipe  
bowls onto, the arrowwood also  
they fitted with stone pipe bowls.

The poor people's pipes had no  
stone bowl, they were just wood.  
Pieces quickly come off, it burns  
through inside, a gap burns out  
at the top rim, the tobacco spills.

But the good pipe is bowled  
with serpentine. It is much work  
when a pipe has a stone bowl on it.

The good bowls are the fat-like  
rock kind of bowls.

(THE ROCK AT KATIMIN CALLED  
'Ik'yó·rá'AS (PIPE BOWL ROCK))<sup>35a</sup>

There is only one rock of the  
kind at Katimin. It is called the  
Pipe Bowl Rock. It is setting  
out in the river, out from Round

<sup>35</sup> Also 'asó·hnâ·m'mítc, dim.

<sup>35a</sup> See Pl. 31.

<sup>36</sup> 'Asa'úru is on the Katimin side and 'Ik'yó·rá'as is out in the river  
from it.

Ka'tim'ínk'ám 'ú:θ 'á:ssak 'uh-yárùprámti'. Kó:vúra pavé:n-nákkir Ka'tim'ínk'ám, 'Íccipic-ríhákam 'u:m vura puffá:thá:rà. Pa'ára:r yí:v mit kun'aramsíp-ré:nnatihat pakuniknansúro:ti-hat pa'as.

c. Pe'kxaré:yav va:ká:n kúnpi-pá:θkurihanik pa'asá:yav

'Ú:θ 'ick'yé:ca kúnpi-pá:θkùrì-há:nik, pa'asaθkurihk'y'a'm, kúnippá:n'ník: "Va:ká:n kún-piknansúrō:tihé:c yá:s'á:ra. Yá:s'á:ra kir ikyá:kkam 'ukyá:tti xasik 'ührámyav mu'ührá:mhè:e." Va:vura mukuniky'ó:rá:shanik Pe'kxaré:yav, va:kunipítti', Pe'kxaré:yav 'u:mkun karu vúra va:ká:n pakunikyá:ttihanik pamuk'íkk'y'ó:r va:vúra pakumá:s. Xára mit vura puxútihaphat kir 'Apxantínnihite va:'úkvar páva:kumá:s, pó:hra:m (± páva:'ukd:rahitihá:k) páva:ká:n ve:k'yó:rá:s. Xa yí:v kún'íe:θma' pe:θivθvá:nné:n 'utánnihe'e, Pe'kxaré:yav kúníxiphé:e, pa'as pa'yí:v kú:kun'íe:θmaha:a:k, pe'k-k'y'ó:r. Púmit va:yé:crí:hvútihap-hat.

d. Pahú:t kunkupeknansúrō:hiti'

Kunikpuhkírē:ti pa'ássak, patakuníkna:nsuraraha:k pe'kk'y'ó:r pó:hrá:m kuniyá:vicaha:a:k. Há:ri pa:hmú:k kúnvitkírē:tti pa'as-sak.

Pa'icvit tákunma yav paká:n kuni kná:nsure'e. Karixas kuni'íkk'y'ó:ppá:θti' 'á:ssamú:uk, 'á:tcip 'uhýárupramti'. Xara vura kuni kná:mpa:θti', 'itc'a:nitc xas vura takuníkná:nsur, pa'á:tcip 'ihyán-

Rock. On the Katimin side out in the water it is setting. All the sacred things are on the Katimin side, on the Ishipishrihak side there is nothing. The Indians used to come from far to peck off that rock.

(THE IKXAREYAVS THREW DOWN THE GOOD ROCK)

They threw it out in the river, that big black steatite rock, they said: "Humans will be pecking it off. Would that Human will have to work hard before he will have a good pipe." That was the Ixxareyavs' rock, they say, the Ixxareyavs too made their pipe bowls there of that same rock. For a long time they did not want the white people to buy that kind of rock, a pipe bowled with bowl rock of that place. He might pack it far away, and that then the world would come to an end, the Ixxareyavs would get angry, because they had packed away that pipe bowl. They did not use to sell it.

(HOW THEY PECK IT OFF)

They swim to that rock when they are going to peck off a pipe bowl, when they are going to make a pipe. And sometimes in a canoe they go to that rock.

They find a good place to peck it off. Then they peck it around in a circle, leaving it sticking up in the middle. For a long time he pecks around it. Then all at once they peck it off, they peck

nupnamtihatchan va; takuník-ná-nsúr. Xas tó·ppé·ttcip pa'as, pa'ipá tó·kná·nsúrat. Karixas tupíkpú·vrípa<sup>a</sup>, puxx<sup>u</sup>tc vura 'u·axaytcákkícrihti pa'as, 'uxxúti xay 'ú;θ 'úkyí·mk'yá. Xas to·p-vá·tam, mukrívra<sup>m</sup> xas tó·kyav pe'kkvó'r.

e. Pa'as Kaʔtim̄ín pakuníppé·nti  
'Asaxús̄as<sup>36a</sup>

off the piece that is sticking up in the middle. Then he takes the rock that he has pecked off. Then he swims out, he holds the rock very tight, he is afraid it might fall in the river. Then he goes home. He makes the pipe bowl at his living house.

(THE ROCK AT KATIMIN CALLED  
'ASAXÚS̄AS (SOFT SOAPSTONE  
ROCK))

Há·ri va; kunkupé·θvýá·nná-hiti 'asáxxu<sup>u</sup>s,<sup>37</sup> karu hárí kuni-pitti 'asá·mtu<sup>u</sup>p.<sup>38</sup> Kaʔtim̄ín 'ické·cti:m, kaʔtim̄ín·nsá:m, kák-kum va; kó·ká's, 'asáxxu<sup>u</sup>s. Va; ká:n yíθθa 'asákka:m 'úkri; 'asaxús̄as 'úθvú·yti'. Va; vura hárí kuníkyá rat ikvó'r, xé·ttcítc 'uma víra. Pírickvúníc su? 'u·ixáx-pí·θvá'. 'Imtanánámnihitc vura pakuníkraksírō·tihàník 'ávah-káñ. Puyávhara 'uhramíkyáv, tcé·mya:tc 'umpátte:c pa'umfírá-há'ak.

Pámítva 'apxantínnihite pakunívyíhukka<sup>t</sup>, va; mit pa'ára:r va; kuníkyá·vana:tí pa'uhrá:m, va; pa'asaxxé·ttcítc, kák-kum várá-mas karu kák-kum 'ípcú·nkina-teca<sup>s</sup>. Va; kumá'i'i pakuníkyá·vana:tí pakinikvárice:c pa'apxantínnihite 'í'n. Xúsipux kun-má·hti pa'apxantínnihitc. Pu-yé·pcákká:msáhá:rà, víra 'u:m xé·ttcítca<sup>s</sup>. Yíθθa po·hrá:m hárí 'itráhyar takin?<sup>e</sup>.

'Ícyá: víra nukyá·vana:tí, 'uhrá:m, karu vura símsi:m,

Sometimes they call it 'asáxxu<sup>u</sup>s, and sometimes they say 'asá·mtu<sup>u</sup>p. At Katimin by the river, downslope from Katimin, there are some rocks of that kind, 'asáxxu<sup>u</sup>s. There is one big rock there that they call 'asaxús̄as. They sometimes make pipe bowls of it, but it is soft. It is greenish streaked inside. It is visible where they were cracking it off on top. It is not much good for making pipes, it will soon crack when it gets hot.

After the White people came the Indians made pipes of that soft rock, some long ones and some short ones. That was what they were making them for just so the White people would buy it from them. They were just fooling the White people. They [the stone pipes] were not very good, they were soft ones. Sometimes they paid them \$10 for one pipe.

In the wintertime we were making pipes, and knives, all

<sup>36a</sup> For picture of this rock and close-up of a section of the top of it where pieces have been pecked out, see Pl. 32, *a, b*.

<sup>37</sup> Mg. shiny rock.

<sup>38</sup> Mg. rock white clay.

kó·vúra pakumá'u<sup>u</sup>p, pa'ara-rá'u<sup>u</sup>p, kári tu'áhu; pa'apxantín-níhi'tc,<sup>39</sup> pe'kvára<sup>a</sup>n, xáttíkrúpmá kari tu'áhu<sup>u</sup>. 'U'á'púnmuti va; kar uxurihárahiti pa'ára<sup>a</sup>r.

f. Va; karu ká:n 'u'asáxxú'shiti  
Sihtirikusá'm

Há·ri Sihtirikusá'm pa'as kunik-nansúrōtihàník pe'k'yóré'kyav, há·ri k'yáru kun'lé'tci'lprinatihaník. Va; ká:n karu vura pe'k'yó'rás kunikyá'ttihaník Sihtirikusá'm. 'Axaxusyá'mmatcasite Sihtirikusá'm, kuna vura xé'tcitcás<sup>40</sup> Xé-teiteas 'u:m pe'kk'yó'r va; vé'kyav, páva;mú:k vé'kyav 'ik-k'yó'r xé'tcitcaś, patapríhara'as 'u:m vura ni kunikyá'vic, va; kó:k pakunikyá'ttihaník va; ká:n, 'imní'crav karu vura ni kunikyá'-vic va; kumá'as kuna vura xé-teiteas.<sup>41</sup>

g. Pahú't kunkupe'kyá'hiti pe'k-k'yó'r<sup>41a</sup>

Picci:p 'as vura mű:k pakunik-yá'ttihaník. Tú'ppitcas vura kunknansúnnö'ti Hatchaník.<sup>42</sup> 'Ás-sak 'a? xas kunθimyá'ttihaník, kunθimyé'erl'hyutihaník. 'Ávah-kam píccip yav kunikyá'ttihaník vura va; pupikya'náyá'tchitihapha-hánik, papúva súrùvárahitiha<sup>a</sup>k puxutnahítc 'ikyá'ttihapha-hánik. Patasu? 'usúruvárahitiha<sup>a</sup>k,

kinds of things, Indian things, then the White man, who bought things, came around, in the spring of the year. He knew the Indians were hard up.

(THERE IS SOFT SOAPSTONE AT SIHTIRIKUSAM, TOO)

And sometimes at Sihtirikusam they used to peck off rock for making pipe bowls or picked it up. They used to "make" pipe bowl rocks at Sihtirikusam too. Those are good looking soapstone rocks at Sihtirikusam, but soft, soft for making pipe bowls of, but they make indeed paving rocks there, that was the kind that they used to make there, and stone trays also they make out of that rock, but soft ones.

(HOW THEY SHAPE THE PIPE BOWL)

They worked it first with a rock. They chipped off little pieces. They rub it on a flat rock. They rub it down. They make it good outside first. They did not finish it up so good while there was no hole in it. They did not make it thin. When it already had a hole in it, then they fixed it good. They made

<sup>39</sup> John Daggett, who lived up the Salmon River at Black Bear mine, and collected many ethnological objects from the Indians in the nineties.

<sup>40</sup> Or xé'tcitcas 'uma vúra.

<sup>41</sup> Or xé'ttcitcas pa'as.

<sup>41a</sup> For illustration of two detached pipe bowls, both of 'asáxxu's, see Pl. 32, c.

<sup>42</sup> Or non-diminutive kunknansúrō'tihaník.

kárixas komahayá·tc takuníkyá·n'nik. 'Ippaní·tc ké·tc, tinihyá·tc va; pakunkupé·kyá·tihitáñik, sú·kam 'úhyá·kkivtì<sup>43</sup> va; kunkupe·kyá·tihitáñik, paká·n·su' uhyáramníhe;c 'uhrá·m'mak. Tí·m kó·vúra kunθimyáyá·tchitihañik,<sup>44</sup> fí·ppáyav kuníkyá·ttiháñik, xú·skúníc kuníkyá·ttiháñik. Karixas vé·hečramü·k pakuník-rúprí·nnatiháñik pe·kk'yó·r. Hárí sáhyu·x kunmútrá·mnih-vutiháñik, va; u;·m tcé·myá·tc kuníkrú·prinátiháñik. Sá-káru vura pakuníhrú·vtiháñik passúruvar kuníkrú·prinaratihañik. Píccí·p va; kuntárukti pa-'íppankam, karixas súrukam takuníkyav pasúnnuváñatc. Va; vura 'itcá·nitc vura kó·vúra kuníkyá·ttiháñik, 'ávahkam karu ví·ra, karu vura sú·kam. Sú·kam karu vura tinihyá·tc kuníkyá·ttiháñik.

*h. Hárí 'itcá·nitc vura té·cítc takuníkyáv*

Hárí 'itcá·nitc vura té·cítc takuníkyav pe·kk'yó·r, hárí 'it-ró·p, 'ínná·k vur utá·yhíti'.

*i. Pahú·t kunkupáθθá·nkahiti pe·kk'yó·r po·hrá·m'mak*

Po·hrá·m 'u;·m pupíkyá·má-yá·tchitihap<sup>45</sup> pe·kk'yó·r takunθá·nkahá·k. Po·hrá·m kohoma-yá·tc takuníkyáv, pe·kk'yó·r kó·h. Xas va; kó· takunθimyav pa'as, po·hrá·m kó·h. 'Ávahkam takuníptá·vássúrù po·hrá·m. Va; vura po·hrá·m kó·kkáninay takunvu-

it big, flat on top, and sticking off below, where it is going to go into the pipe. They filed the sides off good, they made them straight and smooth. Then with a horn they bored out the pipe bowl. Sometimes they put sand in, that way they bored it quickly. They also used flint for boring the hole with. They first bore it on top, then they make the little hole in the bottom. They work the outside and the inside at the same time. They made the bottom flat, too.

(SOMETIMES THEY MAKE SEVERAL AT A TIME)

Sometimes they make several pipe bowls at a time, sometimes five; they store them in the living house.

(HOW THEY FIT THE PIPE BOWL ON THE PIPE)

They always have the pipe only half finished when they put the pipe bowl on. They make the pipe the same size as the bowl. And they file the stone to the same size as the pipe. They plane the pipe off on top. They cut the pipe in every place how

<sup>43</sup> Or 'uhýássuru'u.

<sup>44</sup> Or diminutive kuntuimyáyá·tchitiháñik.

<sup>45</sup> Or pupíkyá·ratiháp.

pákkurihvá pakunkupáθéñka-he<sup>ec</sup>. Pakár uká rímhítihá<sup>a</sup>k xas kari takuniptaxicic k<sup>v</sup>úkku<sup>u</sup>m, kári k<sup>v</sup>úkku<sup>u</sup>m takunipcíppún'vá. Tce myátca kunipéánkó<sup>a</sup>tti po hramsunuvana'íppańitc, kunpikyá'várlhvüti ta'ata ni k<sup>v</sup>ohomayá<sup>a</sup>tc. Ko homayá<sup>a</sup>te vúra takuníkyav. 'Itcavu'tsunayá<sup>a</sup>tc vura takuníkyav, púyava<sup>a</sup> vura kó'vúra patakohomayá<sup>a</sup>tc kuníkyav. Teatík vura va<sup>a</sup> takunpíkyá<sup>a</sup>r.

*j. Pahú·t kunkupe·ttákkan kankahiti'*

Púya va<sup>a</sup> ta'ifutetf'mite xas patákkan takuníkyav, va<sup>a</sup> vúra kárixas takuníkyav patákkan pavúra kári teimi kunikyá'rē·cá-há<sup>a</sup>k. 'Ínná<sup>a</sup>k 'ahinámtí'mite pakuníkyá<sup>a</sup>tti'.

Patakkán kunikyá<sup>a</sup>rati 'icxikiharámma<sup>a</sup>n, há<sup>a</sup>ri k<sup>v</sup>aru vur amvámma<sup>a</sup>n. Kunpaputcayá<sup>a</sup>tchití'. 'Asé·mni·cnámite<sup>46</sup> xas ká:n takunyú'hka'. Patakunxusmanik takóh>, xas takunímnič, 'imffír takuníkyav, 'imní·crávák sú?

Xas tcimitcyá<sup>a</sup>tc vura 'apunáxvu kar axváha', 'itcanipite<sup>a</sup>rxváha', patakunpi<sup>a</sup>cánná<sup>a</sup>nvá pe<sup>a</sup>cxikiharáma<sup>a</sup>n su?. Kuyrá<sup>a</sup> kó<sup>a</sup> patakuní·cat.

Pa'apunáxvu 'ararapramsa'íppaha kunikyá<sup>a</sup>ti'. Ka<sup>a</sup>timíñmá:m vúr ta<sup>a</sup>y u'fti', pa'apunaxvu'íppa', vura fáttak xas po'minnú<sup>a</sup>pran pa'apunáxvu'. Mán vúra kitc po'varasúró<sup>a</sup>hiti', pa'ípa 'ávahahé<sup>a</sup>cat. Payváhi<sup>a</sup>m há<sup>a</sup>ri pitcas<sup>a</sup>rxváha<sup>a</sup> takuní·cánti' karu há<sup>a</sup>ri prams, tapúva<sup>a</sup> 'i·cá·ntihap pa'apunáxvu'.

they are going to put the rock on. If it does not fit, they scrape the wood off again, and they measure it again. Every once in a while they put it back again on top of the pipe bowl; they try it on to see if it is right. They make it just the right size. They make it even, fitting it good. Then they get through.

(HOW THEY GLUE IT ON)

The last thing they make the glue. They make the glue only when they are going to use it. They make it in the living house by the fire.

They use sturgeon skin for making glue, or sometimes salmon skin. They chew it good. They spit it onto a steatite dishlet. When they think it is enough, then they cook it. They heat it, on the dish.

Then they mix a little gum and pitch, young Douglas fir tree pitch, into the sturgeon skin. Three kinds they mix together.

The gum they get off of wild plum bushes. Lots of those gum bushes grow upslope of Katimin. The gum comes out at places on them. They just have skins where the fruit was going to be. Nowadays they use sometimes peach or plum gum, they no longer use the [wild plum] gum.

<sup>46</sup> Or 'imnicnam<sup>a</sup>ñàñammáhátc.

Va; pakuma'axváha pakuní·cán·tì 'iteáni·ppitcak 'vá·xváha'. Pe·tcánni·ppítcák kó·vúra 'axvá-hahar pa'íppa', kunic 'ukú·tháhi·ti', 'áhupmú· kunkitnusutnús-suti'. 'Ahup'anammahatcmú·k pakunkitnusutnússuti'. Kitnu-sút-nus 'úθvú·yti', 'itecanpitckit-nusutnus'axváha'. Va; takunpi-cánná·nva patákkań.

Sárip su' uhyá·rähiti', xay su' 'uvú·n'vař 'uhramsúrùváràk patákkań. Karixas va; takuni·vunu-káyá·tchà pe·kk'yó·r. Karixas takunθá·nkuri, pe·kkyó·r po·h-rá·m'mak. Xas takunikeáppic po·hrá·m, pakú·kam 'ukð·rahiti va; kú·kam 'usurúkamhiti', va; kunkupasuvaxrähahiti'. Xas ká·n takunθáricri 'ínná·k po·h-rá·m. Xas xára vura 'uθá·niv 'ínná·k 'imfinánnihic.

Karixas va; takuniptaxíxic pa'ávahkam tó·hrá·prícùkàhà;k patákkań. Kó·vúra xu·skunic takuníkyav, kohomayá·tc vura kó·vúra takuníkyav, takunpikya-náyá·tchà'. Xas va; tcimtcí·k-k'yáramú·k takunteimyá·yá·tchà'. Karu hárí 'aθkúrít takuni·vunu-káyá·tchà patakunpíkyav'·r.

*k. Pahú·t kunkupapé·ttcúrō·hiti  
pe·kk'yó·r*

'Aká·y vúravá pó·xxutiha;k kiri nípícyú·nkiv. pe·kk'yó·r, kari 'asímpü·kkàtcák tupúθθař, xas va; ká·n tó·mní·neur pamuták-kań.<sup>47</sup> Xas tupikyá·yav, yiθ tupíkyav patákkań.

The kind of pitch that they mix in is the pitch of young fir trees. The young fir is pitchy all over, as if it were breaking out with pimples. With a little stick they punch it off. It is called punched off stuff, young Douglas fir punched off pitch. They mix it with the glue.

They stick a hazel stick inside so the glue will not run inside the pipe. Then they smear the glue on the stone pipe bowl good. Then they put the bowl in the pipe. Then they stand the pipe on end, the stone bowled end down, they let it dry that way. Then they put it in the living house. It lies in there a long time in the warmth.

Then they scrape off the glue that has run out. They make it smooth all over, they make it even all over, they finish it out good. Then they polish it with scouring rush. Then sometimes they rub grease all over it when they finish it.

(HOW THEY REMOVE THE PIPE BOWL)

When anybody wants to remove the stone bowl from a pipe, he soaks it in warm water, the glue melts off. Then he fixes it over again, he makes fresh glue.

<sup>47</sup> Fritz Hanson soaked first-listed specimen made by Yas and removed the bowl with ease.

C. Pahú·t mit k्यो́s po·hrâ·m, (THE SIZE OF PIPES AND HOW  
pamit hú·t kunkupe·ttcí·tkira-  
hitihat' THEY MADE THEM FANCY)

a. Pahú·t mit k्यो́s po·hrâ·m

(THE SIZE OF PIPES)

a'. Púmit vâ·ramasákâ·msahara  
po·hrâ·m

(PIPES DID NOT USE TO BE VERY  
LONG)

'U;mkun vúra va; kunkupá·á·-  
pûnmâhitî'. Pekxaré·yav karu  
vura vakó·shânik pamukun?úhra-  
'a·m, va; pakunfúhi·cti'. Va;  
vúra kó·sàmítcás kítc pamukun-  
?úhrâ·msahañik. Vura va; karixas  
pavâ·ramashanik, Pa'apxantínni-  
hite kári takun?árâ·rahitihanik,  
va; kárixas vura pavâ·ramasha-  
ñik pamukun?úhra-<sup>a</sup>m, pe·kyâ·ras  
takuntâ·rahitihanik. Yurukvâ-  
ras mit píccí·p pavâ·ramas pa-  
mukun?úhra-<sup>a</sup>m. 'U;θ kuníkvâ·n-  
tihanik pamukun?íkyâ·ras yurás-  
ti'<sup>i</sup>m. Vâ·ramas 'á·xkúnicas pa-  
mukun?úhrâ·msahañik. Kâ·kum  
kuyrak?á·ksíp<sup>48</sup> 'uvâ·râmásâhitî-  
hanik. Kâ·kum 'ipcú·nkínâtcás,  
kâ·kum 'axak 'á·ksíp, kâ·kum  
'iθa'á·ksíp, pamukun?úhrâ·mhânik  
Payurukvâ·ras. Yé·pca mit po·h-  
ramxárahsa', 'uvé·hvárâ·hitihat  
mit xe·hvasxarahsáhak.

b'. Pahú·t mit k्यो́s paxavic-  
?úhra-<sup>a</sup>m

(SIZE OF ARROWWOOD PIPES)

Xavic'úhra-<sup>a</sup>m 'u;·m vura pu-  
vâ·ramákâ·mhârá, 'iθa'á·ksíp kar-  
icvít va; vura kítc kunkipyá-  
yí·mmüti'. Xavic'úhra-<sup>a</sup>m va;  
'u;·m púva; kó; vâ·ram 'ikâ·tihap  
pakó; faθip?úhra-<sup>a</sup>m kunikyâ·tti',

An arrowwood pipe is not very  
long, 1½ spans<sup>48</sup> is as big as they  
make them. The arrowwood  
pipes they do not make as long  
as they do the manzanita pipes,  
those are long ones, manzanita

<sup>48</sup> The span here referred to is the distance between the ends of spread thumb and forefinger. A thumb to middlefinger span is also sometimes used. Va; vura kítc kunic kuníhrû·vti tik'yanpí·m'matc, patakun?á·ksípré·ha'ak, há·ri vura xas pa'atcípti;k k'áru.

va<sub>x</sub> 'u<sub>x</sub>m vā·rāmas, faθip'úhra<sub>x</sub>m  
'u<sub>x</sub>m vā·rāmas. Ní·nnamite vura  
hā·ri takuníkyāv, 'ik'oráhí·ppu<sub>x</sub>. Va<sub>x</sub>  
kuníppē·ntì xavic'úhnā'm'-  
mitc, po·hnám'anammaha<sub>x</sub>c. Va<sub>x</sub>  
yamahu·katetā'ppas va'uhramík-  
ya<sub>x</sub>v, va<sub>x</sub> pakā·nimiteas pamu-  
kun'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m.

c'. Pahú·t mit k'yō:s pa'ē·m-  
'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m

Pavura ko·kō·kuma'úhra<sub>x</sub> mit  
pamukun'úhra<sub>x</sub>m pa'ē·mca', ká·-  
ku mit vā·ramas pamukun-  
'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m, karu ká·kum 'ipcū·nki-  
na<sub>x</sub>cas. Va<sub>x</sub> karixás mit kitc  
puxx<sup>w</sup>itc vā·ramas pamukun-  
'úhra<sub>x</sub>m pa'ē·mca', pa'apxantín-  
nihite kári mit patakunivýhuk-  
ka<sub>x</sub>. Va<sub>x</sub> kári mit ká·kum pa-  
'ē·mca puxx<sup>w</sup>itc vā·ramas pamu-  
kun'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m.

'E·hk'yan<sup>49</sup> pámitva mukuhím-  
m'yatcky<sup>50</sup> vā·ra mit pamu-  
'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m, 'icvírik mit 'ukúram-  
níhvàt<sup>51</sup> pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m. Faθip-  
'úhra<sub>x</sub> mit, yu<sub>x</sub> ve·kyā·ppuhañik,  
θúffip.

Vā·ra mit mu'úhra<sub>x</sub>m 'Ayírim-  
ké·txa<sub>x</sub>v.<sup>52</sup> Márū kunpíccun-  
vañik, 'ahvárá·k sù<sub>x</sub> máruk.  
Kun'lá·ytihá<sub>x</sub>, ká·kkum pamut-  
únvi<sub>x</sub> v kun'lá·ytihá<sub>x</sub>, xay nuk-  
kúha'<sup>a</sup>, kunxúti xay nukkúha'<sup>a</sup>.  
'E·m'mit, k'yáruva'<sup>a</sup>, paké·txa<sub>x</sub>v.

pipes are long ones. Sometimes they make a small one, without stone pipe bowl. They call it a little arrowwood pipe, that little pipe. That is the easiest kind of pipe to make, that is the poor people's pipe.

(SIZE OF DOCTORS' PIPES)

Doctors had pipes of all sizes, some had long ones and some had short ones. The doctors only had the very long pipes after the White people came. Some of the doctors then had very long pipes.

Ike's deceased father had a long pipe, it reached to his elbow. It was a manzanita pipe, of downriver make, from Requa.

Ayiθrimké·txa<sub>x</sub>v used to have her pipe long. They kept it upslope in a hollow tree. They were afraid of it, some of her children were, "lest we get sick," they thought "lest we get sick." She was a doctor, too, that shavehead was.

<sup>49</sup> Little Ike of Yutimin Falls. His name, Ike, is an adaptation of this Indian name of his.

<sup>50</sup> His Indian names were (1) 'Ipcó·ké·hva'<sup>a</sup>n, (2) Yé·fíppa'<sup>a</sup>n. He was a famous suck-doctor.

<sup>51</sup> An old expression of length.

<sup>52</sup> Mg. 'Áyi·θírn, Shavehead. Her name in earlier life was 'Ayiθrim-k'yáro<sub>x</sub>m 'Ara 'Ípásfúrùtihàñ, mg. she who took somebody in half-marriage on the upriver side of 'Áyi·θírn. She was Steve Super's mother. She was a suck-doctor.

Va:<sup>2</sup> mit 'áxxak pa'e'mcayé-cí'psa', Yéfippa:n karu 'Ayiθrim-k'áro:m Va'ára:r.

d'. Pahú:t koyá:hiti pehé:raha po·hrá:m<sup>53</sup>

Há:ri pútta:y yá:hitihara pehé:rähä po·hrá:m'mak, karu hár:i vura ta:y uyá:hiti po·hrá:m'mak. Po·hrámka:mhä'a:k, karu vura va:<sup>u:m</sup> ta:y 'uyá:hiti'<sup>54</sup>, po·hnám-pánammähatchä'a:k, va:<sup>u:m</sup> vura teí:mitc 'uyá:hiti'<sup>55</sup>. Pavúra 'u:m yíθø po·victántihä:k pehé:rähä', yíθøa vúra 'u:m, vur uxxti': "Kirí tta:y sù?".<sup>56</sup>

Vura 'u:m taxxaravé:tak pámitva pakunikyá:ttihat pe:k-k'yó:r, pe:k'yó:rákkä:mhä'a:k paké:tcha:k pe:k'yó:r, vura 'u:m ta:y 'uyá:hiti pehé:raha', ké:tc pamukd'ra:ássip.<sup>57</sup> Pek'yó:rá'anammahitchä'a:k, va:<sup>u:m</sup> vura pútta:y yá:hitihara, ní:namite pamusúrukka<sup>a</sup>. Kuna vura payé:m vur hú:tvåvå patakunkupé:kyá:hiti pe:k'yó:r, takunxus: "Va:vura ní kinikvárice'c," Há:ri vur 'ik'yó:rákkä:m ní:namite 'u:m pamusúrukka<sup>a</sup>, hár:i karu vura 'ik'yó:nná'anammahate<sup>58</sup> ké:tc kitc pamusúruka<sup>a</sup>.

Há:ri vura teí:mitc 'uyá:hiti pehé:raha po·hrá:m. Há:ri vura xá:t 'ührámka:m, va:<sup>u:</sup> vura teí:mitc uhyá:hiti pehé:rähä', ní:namite kunikyá:ttih pamuhé:raha-iérúram. Há:ri pútta:y yá:hiti-

Those two were the biggest doctors, Yefippan and Ayiθrim-k'árom Va'arar.

(TOBACCO CAPACITY OF PIPES)<sup>53</sup>

Some pipes do not hold much tobacco, and some hold much. Also a big pipe holds more, a little pipe less. If a person likes tobacco, such a person thinks: "Would that there is more in there."<sup>60</sup>

In the old times when they used to make stone pipe bowls, when there was a big stone pipe bowl, when the stone pipe bowl was big, it held much tobacco. It had a big pipe bowl cup. When the stone pipe bowl was small, it did not hold much, its hole was small. But now they make the stone pipe bowl any kind of way, they think: "They will buy it from us anyway." Sometimes when the stone pipe bowl is big the stone pipe bowl has a small cup in it, and sometimes a little stone pipe bowl just has a big cup in it.

Sometimes the pipe holds little tobacco. Sometimes even a big pipe holds little tobacco, they make the place where the tobacco is put in so small. Some pipes do not hold much tobacco, and

<sup>53</sup> See also p. 171.

<sup>54</sup> Or kunmáhyá:náti'.

<sup>55</sup> Or kunmáhyá:náti'.

<sup>56</sup> I. e., he wants it to hold more.

<sup>57</sup> Or pamu'uhram?ássip.

<sup>58</sup> Ct. 'ako'nná'anammahate, a small ax, also a hatchet.

hara pehē·rā·hà pohrá·m'mak, karu hár'i vura ta:y uyá·hítì po·hrá·m'mak. Po·hrámká·m'há'a·k, karu vura va: 'u:m ta:y 'uyá·hítì po·hnám?ànàmmà·hátc'há'a·k, va: 'u:m vura teí·mitc 'uyá·hítì'. Pavúra 'u:m yíθø po·victántiha:k pehē·rā·hà', yíθøa vúra 'u:m, vur uxxti': "Kirí tta:y sù?."

*b.* Pamit hū't kunkupé·ttcí·tkira-hitihat po·hrá·m

*a'.* Va: 'u:m vura pipi'é·p va:'úhrá·mha:ra, pé·vúrùkáhitihan po·hrá·m

Va: xas vura kunxúti yá·mate-tanúkyáv, pa'a·xkunic takuní·vúrukaha:a·k, hár'i 'ikxáramkúníc takuní·vúruk. Hár'i vúra payé·m va: takuni·vúructi po·hrá·m 'apxanti·teí·vúrukaha:<sup>61</sup>. Vura púva: pi'é·p va:'úhrá·mha:ra, pey-vúrùkkáhitihan kuma:'úhra:a·m.

*b'.* Pahú't yuxtcánnanite kunkupe:yá·kkurihvahiti po·hrá·m

Hár'i yuxtcánnanite kuniyá·k-kurihvuti<sup>62</sup> 'ührámí·ccák.<sup>63</sup> Pícci:p

some hold much. Also a big pipe holds more, a little pipe less. If a person likes tobacco, such a person thinks: "Would that there is more in there."

(HOW THEY MADE THE PIPES FANCY)

(PAINTED PIPES ARE NOT THE OLD STYLE)

The only time the Indians think they make something nice, is when they paint it red, or sometimes black. Sometimes now they paint a pipe with White man paint. That is not the old style of pipes, that painted kind of pipes.

(HOW THEY INLAY PIPES)

Sometimes the Indians inlay a pipe's body with little abalone

<sup>61</sup> The transverse surface of the mouthpiece end of an arrowwood pipe collected by F. E. Gist, U. S. National Museum specimen No. 278471, is painted red. Mr. Gist made his collection about Weitspec, Hupa and Katimin. Of the specimen was said: 'Uhram'ápmá·nnak 'a·xkunic 'uyvúrukka:hiti', paká:n 'uvúpá·ksurahitihi:rak, at the mouth end it is painted red, where it is cut off.

<sup>62</sup> Or kún'úrukurihvuti'.

<sup>63</sup> A piece of the inlay is called yuxtcánnanite, diminutive of yuxtábáhan, abalone. Both abalone and abalone pendants are called yuxtábáhan or yuxtcánnanite, according to size. Abalone pendants of the two standard kinds are shown in Pl. 28, *a* and *b*. An example of an arrowwood pipe inlaid with abalone is in the U. S. National Museum, specimen No. 278471, collected by F. E. Gist. This pipe is shown in Pl. 27, *a*.

kunθimyá·tti payuxtcánnanite. Takunsipunváyá·tcha pakó·sa-mitcashe<sup>e</sup>c. Xas va;<sup>a</sup> ká·n takuntarúpkurihvá po·hramí·ccák. Ko-homayá·tc vúra takuníkyav pas-surukkúrihvá', paká·n payux-tcánnanite kumienápkurihvé<sup>e</sup>c. Tcé·myátceva kunípθánkurihvuti', va;<sup>a</sup> kun kupaśíppú·nvàhití', pakuniwyá·ttihá<sup>a</sup>k. Karixas tákkan-mű·k takuní·vúruk pasurkkúrihvavák. Xas takun<sup>z</sup>inápku;<sup>a</sup> payux-tcánnanite. Yá·matc 'umússá-he<sup>e</sup>c po·hrá·m. Kárixas ávahkam takun<sup>z</sup>ipta·vasúru<sup>a</sup> po·hrá·m, va;<sup>a</sup> kari táxú·skúnic. Xú·skúnic pa-kuníkyá·tti'. Va·kumá'i'i paxú·skúnic, tcimteíkk<sup>y</sup>ar kunθimyá·-rati'.

D. Pahú·t po·hrá;<sup>a</sup> mit kunkupap-pé·hvapiθvahitiha<sup>a</sup>t, pámitva kó;<sup>a</sup> 'ó·rahitiha<sup>a</sup>t

Pu'ifyá· vúra yé·crí·hvitihap-hanik po·hrá·m pi'é<sup>e</sup>p. Vura kuníkyá·ttánmá·htiháni<sup>k</sup>, pamukun<sup>z</sup>árá·ras vura kuníkyé·htánma·htiháni<sup>k</sup>. Po·kkő·rahitiha<sup>a</sup>k, xas kinikváriictiháni<sup>k</sup>. Ká·kkum 'u;<sup>a</sup>mkun vura túpite<sup>64</sup> kun<sup>z</sup>ó·rahiti-váθtihanik po·hrá·m, papu'ik-k<sup>y</sup>ó·rahitiha<sup>a</sup>k. 'Uhrámyav kuy-ná·kitc ka'ír<sup>65</sup> 'u'<sup>y</sup>ó·rahitiha<sup>a</sup>nik.

a. Pahú·t mit yúruk kunkupé·k-várahitiha<sup>a</sup>t

Há·ti yu<sup>z</sup> mit kunikvaránkó·tl-há<sup>a</sup>t xuská·mha<sup>z</sup>, 'araraxúská·m-há<sup>z</sup>, kár uhrá·m. Yu<sup>z</sup> 'u;<sup>a</sup>m yá·matc kuníkyá·tti paxuská·m-

shell pieces. They measure them the size they are going to be. Then they make the holes on the surface of the pipe. They make the holes just the right size for putting the abalone shell pieces in. Every once in a while they put them in; they measure that way, when they are making it.

Then they smear the holes with glue. Then they put the abalone shell pieces in. The pipe is going to look nice. Then they scrape the pipe off to make it smooth. They make it so smooth. That is why it is so smooth, because they polish it with scouring rush.

(HOW THEY USED TO SELL PIPES,  
AND THE PRICES)

They never used to sell pipes much long ago. They used to make them for nothing, they used to make them for their relatives for nothing. They sold them then when they had a stone pipe bowl on them. Some people sold a pipe for two bits, when it had no stone pipe bowl.

A good looking pipe used to sell for a dollar.

(HOW THEY USED TO BUY PIPES  
DOWNRIVER)

Sometimes they used to go downriver to buy bows, and pipes, too. Downriver they make pretty bows; they paint them red

<sup>64</sup> From English two bits.

<sup>65</sup> Or yíθ ipcu kuyná·kitc ka'íru, one dentalium of the third length; or vantára, from English one dollar.

hař, kuničxúrik̤ti', 'a·xkunícm̤k karu 'ám̤kūfkùníc. Vá·ramas karu po·hrā·m, payúrùkvā·rás kunikyā·tt̤i'.

E. Pahú·t puxxarahírurav yávhítihanič po·hrā·m, pahú·t 'uku·patanníhahitihanič po·hrā·m

Puxxára 'ihrú·vtihàp 'uhřá·m, puxxára yávhitihařa. Vura puxxárahírùnàv 'ihrú·vtihap. Pataxxárahač 'umxaxavárá·t̤i', karu vura 'umtáktačkt̤i 'íppaň, 'uhramžíppaň há·ri pe·kký·ōt̤r tó·mtcuř, va; vura kari tó·pθā·nìv po·hrá·m, patečký·ō·rí·puxxáhač, viri kyunéč taxxára tuxávtcuř, há·ri káru vúra va; pa'áračr tu'iv pávač mu'úhra'čm, kari máru kúč takunpē·θma 'ahvára'čk. Vura 'ata tcí·mitc papi'ē·p ve·kyá·pu po·hrá·m. Xa;s vúra kó·vúra po·hrá·m payé·m pakó·káninay 'utáyhina-t̤i', va; karixas ve·kyá·púhsahanič.

Kuna vura 'iθivθaně·npikyā·ržúhra'čm va; vura kitc karínnu pananu'úhra'čm, va; vura kari vari pananu'úhra'čm kitc, 'ira'úhra'čm, Kačtimží'n vura kitc kari yíθø 'uθá·n'niv, karu yíθøa va; káčn 'Inná·m, karu yíθøa pa-námni'čk va; vura kari kýáčn 'uθá·niv yíθøa'. Yíθøa hárinay xas kunpē·θrícuk̤ti po·hrá·m, xas payváhečm patú·ppítcas pa'áračr tapu'uθá·mhítihap pe·hé·rähà'. Viri va; vura takunmáhyá·nnat̤i 'apxanti;tcíhérähà'. Taxxara vě·ttak 'učm vura 'arare-hé·raha kitc kunmáhyá·nnat̤ihà-

and blue. And the pipes are long ones, that the downriver people make.

(HOW PIPES DID NOT USE TO LAST LONG, AND HOW THEY USED TO GET SPOILED)

They do not use a pipe long, it does not last long. They do not use it very long. After a while it cracks; or it gets a V burned in its bowl edge, in the pipe's bowl edge; or the stone pipe bowl breaks and then the pipe lies around without any stone bowl on it and then after a while it gets soft; or maybe the owner of a pipe dies, and then they pack it upslope to a hollow tree. There are very few pipes that have been made long ago. Pretty nearly all the pipes that there are today anywhere were made after the whites came in.

But the pipe for refixing the world is still among us, it is still among us, the Irahiv <sup>69</sup> pipe. One of these is still at Katimin and one is at Clear Creek, and one is at Orleans, there is one there also. Once a year they take out that pipe, but the young Indians do not sow tobacco any more so they put White man smoking tobacco in it. Formerly they used only to put Indian tobacco in it. The Katimin pipe is a long pipe, a span and a half long; they call it the Iccip sweathouse pipe. The pipe is in

<sup>69</sup> The New Year's ceremony.

ník sù?. Vá·ram po·hrá·m paka·tím·lín·núhra·m, yiθa·à·ksíp kár icvít. 'Ikmahatram 'Ieci·p va·úhra·m kuníppé·nti'. Xé·hvá·sak vura sù? úkri<sup>66</sup>, vura te·kxá·ramkúníc paxé·hva·s, karu vura píha tah.<sup>67</sup> Táffirapu vura ník-haník, tapuv e·mm·yú·ssahitiha·ra, pe·kxá·ramku·níc. Va· vura kó·tappíha· pakó· pafatave·nan-síttcákvyútar kó· ppíha'.

Xa·t f'iv<sup>67</sup> va· vura kitc pu'axviθinníhak kú:k 'é·θmé·cap pamí'úhra·m, máruk vur 'ahvára·k kunipθáricihe<sup>68</sup> pamí'uh-rá·m. Kó·vúra pamú'u·p takun-sákká·ha', payá·s'ára tu'íva-ha·k, va· vura kítc puxaká·nhi-tihap pamu'úhra·m. Picci·p-vánnihite vura yíθθuk takun-ipθáric, patapu'i·hér·tihá·k, pa-takká·rimhá·k, pam'úhra·m, pávúra takká·rimhá·k, pátcím u'ív·cáhá·k. Pavúra u·mkun va· mukúnkú·pha', 'ührá·m vúra va· pupuyá·hanapí·mate 'é·θmutiháp.

'Ü'·ttihá táppa·n, kó·vúra pamú'u·p, va· vúra takun·icun-vássar 'axviθinníhak, va· vúra kunxúti takunkó·kkana pamú'u·p, po·hrá·m vúra kitc pu'axviθinníhak kú:k 'é·θmúti-hák. Ká·kum pamú'u·p takun-páhku<sup>69</sup>, karu ká·kkum takun·icunvássar 'axviθinníhak, viri va· vúra kítc pamu'úhra·m máru ká·n<sup>68</sup> takunpé·θma 'íppa-hak.

Há·ri pa'ávansa tu'ívaha·k, pamu'úhra·m vura xar uθá·nniv

a pipe sack; it is already black, that pipe sack, and already stiff. It is made out of buckskin, though it does not look like it any more, it is black. It is stiff as the fatavennan's belt is.

I don't care if you die, they won't pack your pipe over to the grave; they'll put your pipe in a hollow tree upslope. They send all his belongings along when a boss man dies, but the pipe alone is not sent along. Before [he dies] they put it away from him a different place, when he can not smoke any more, because he's so sick, his pipe, when he is dangerously sick, when he is going to die. That is their custom; they don't pack a pipe over near a dead person.

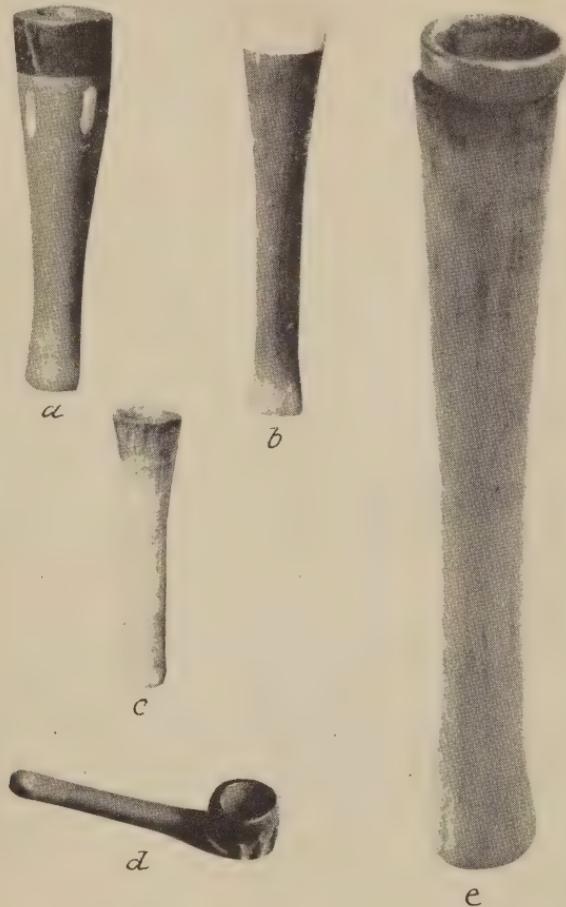
Even flint blades, all his property they put in the grave as accompaniment. They think that he is going with his things, just the pipe alone they do not pack over to the grave. Some of his property they burn and some they bury in the grave, but his pipe alone they pack upslope to a tree upslope.

Sometimes when a man dies his pipe lies in the house a long

<sup>66</sup> Or tappíha'.

<sup>67</sup> Or pe'ívaha·k, when you die.

<sup>68</sup> Or kú:k.

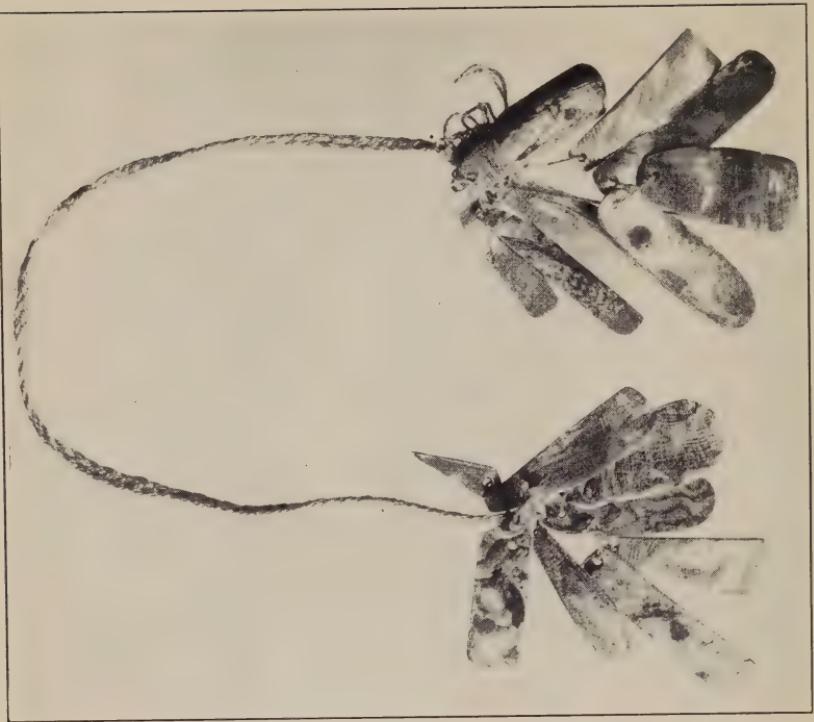


## VARIOUS KINDS OF PIPES

a, Arrowwood pipe with soapstone bowl, inlaid with abalone spangles; b, manzanita pipe with soapstone bowl; c, arrowwood pipe without soapstone bowl, poor man's style of pipe; d, pipe made in imitation of a white man's pipe, e, arrowwood pipe with soapstone bowl.



*a*, Large abalone pendants, the kind that are hung on women's buck-skin dresses



*b*, Small abalone pendants, the kind that women bunch at the end of their hair braids. Inlay spangles on pipes are called the same as both kinds of these pendants

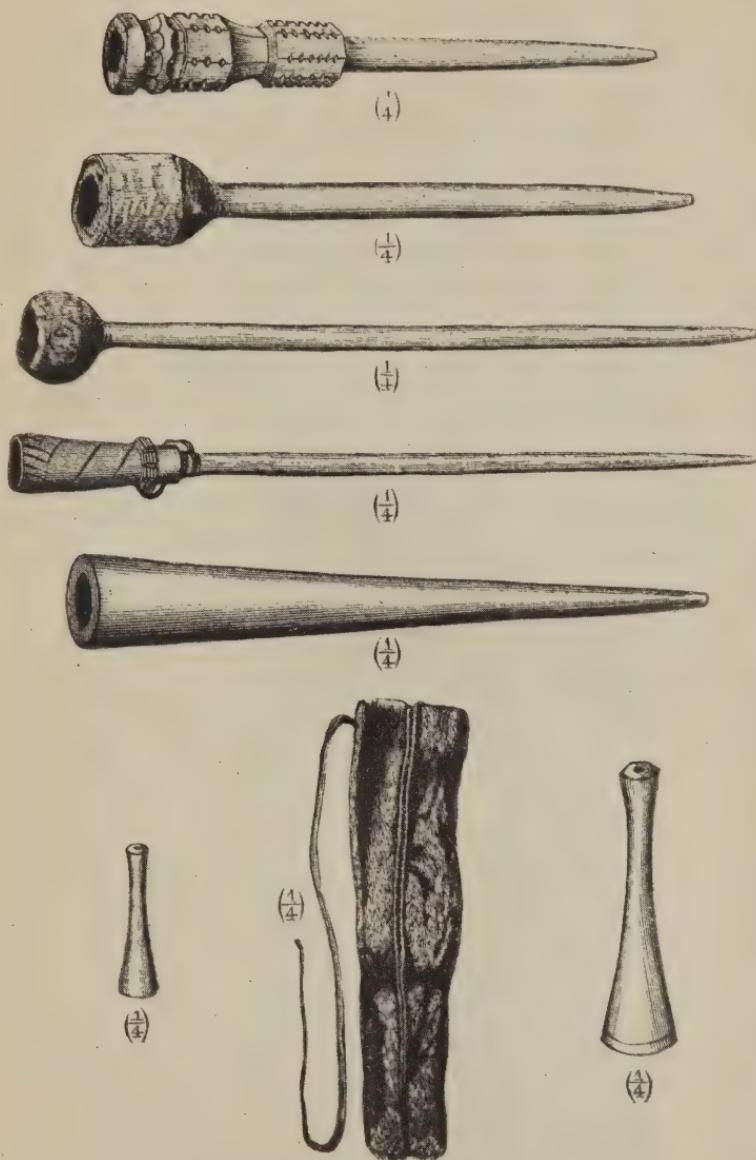


Figure 43.—Tobacco pipes and Case.

REPRODUCTION OF POWERS. THE INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA, FIGURE 43, SHOWING NORTHERN CALIFORNIA INDIAN PIPES AND PIPE SACK



VARIOUS STAGES IN THE MAKING OF ARROWWOOD PIPES, FROM MERE SECTION OF ARROWWOOD STICK TO FINISHED PIPES; ALSO SHOWING ONE MANZANITA PIPE, THE THIRD FROM THE RIGHT-HAND END



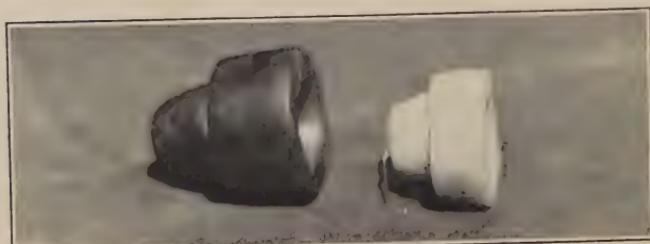
'IKYORA'S, MEANING PIPE-BOWL ROCK, IN THE KLAMATH RIVER AT KATIMIN, TO WHICH INDIANS SWAM OUT TO GET THE BEST SOAPSTONE FOR PIPE BOWLS



*a*, Soft soapstone rock, on south bank of the Klamath River at Katimin



*b*, Close-up of a section of the top of the same, showing where pipe bowls have been pecked off by the Indians



*c*, Two pipe bowls of soft soapstone

há·ri 'ínná'k. Va· vura kite kip numáho·t ikk'yó·r, pamit 'ikrívra·m 'u·í·krífak, xavram-níhák. Pamu·uhramñ;c 'u·m vura hárivariva po·xá·tañik, va· 'u·m vura tapúffa:t pa·áhup, pe·kk'yó·r kite to·sá·m.

a. Xá:s vura kó·vúra te·kyáp-pí·t·ca pa·'araré·kyav payvá-he'ém

Kó·vúra xá:s pasípnú'u·k, karu pe·mní·cra·v, karu passá·n'va, tcimí vúra pakó·; tcimi vura pa-kó·vúra pakumásá·n'vá, payé·m panumá·hti', xá:s vura kó·vúra payé·m xas vura vé·kyá·ppúhsa', mita vura vé·ttak Pa·'apxantí·tc kunivyíhu·k.

time. We always see a stone pipe bowl, that's all, where there used to be a living house, in the former house pit. Its pipe body has rotted away, I do not know when; the wood is no more, only the stone pipe bowl remains.

(NEWNESS OF MOST ARTIFACTS  
THAT ARE EXTANT)

Almost all the baskets, the stone trays and things of all kinds, all kinds of things that we see now, nearly all are recently made, since the Whites came in.

#### F. Ká·kum po·hrá·m pakumé·mús

(DESCRIPTION OF CERTAIN PIPES)

Descriptions of a few pipe specimens, chosen to illustrate the principal types, are here listed.

#### *Specimens of pipes*

Arrowwood pipe without stone facing, the type called xavic?úh-ná·m'mite, bought from Hackett for 25 cents (Pl. 27, c), 3½ inches long, bowl end 1⅓<sub>6</sub> inch diameter, cavity ¼<sub>6</sub> inch diameter, mouth end elliptical in section ½ by ¾ inch, hole ⅓<sub>2</sub> inch diameter. The pipe was being used by Hackett when purchased. (Pl. 27, c.)

Arrowwood pipe, slender type, with bowl of green soapstone from 'Asaxús'as (see p. 153), made by Fritz Hanson, 4 inches long, ½ inch diameter, mouth end ⅓<sub>6</sub> inch diameter, hole ⅓<sub>2</sub> inch diameter; slenderest part of pipe ⅓ inch diameter, 1¼ inches from mouth end. Pipe bowl ⅓ inch long, edge ⅓<sub>2</sub> inch long, rim rounding and only ⅓<sub>2</sub> inch thick. (Pl. 27, e.)

Arrowwood pipe, with bowl of black soapstone, collected by F. E. Gist,<sup>70</sup> U. S. National Museum specimen no. 278471 (Pl. 27, a), 5⅔

<sup>70</sup> Mr. Gist made his home at Weitspec. He kept the store at Soames Bar for several months at one time. He is remembered by the Indians to have bought pipes at Katimin. The pipes in his collection may be Karuk, Yuruk, or Hupa.

inch long, bowl end  $1\frac{1}{8}$  inches diameter, mouth end  $1\frac{3}{16}$  inch diameter, hole  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch diameter, to one side of center; slenderest part of pipe  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inch diameter 1 inch from mouth end. Bowl edge  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch long, cavity  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch diameter, rim  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch to  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch wide. Abalone inlay consists of four pieces ca.  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch long and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch wide,  $\frac{3}{32}$  inch thick, with rounding ends, set equidistant from one another parallel to long axis of pipe  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch from bowl end. (Pl. 27, a.)

Manzanita pipe with bowl of green soapstone from 'Asaxús'as (see p. 153), made by Yas, bought from Benny Tom for \$2.50,  $5\frac{1}{16}$  inches long; bowl end 1 inch diameter; mouth end  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch diameter. Pipe bowl  $1\frac{1}{16}$  inch long, edge  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch long, end of insert  $1\frac{1}{32}$  inch diameter, cavity  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch diameter, rim  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch wide. (Pl. 27, b.)

Manzanita pipe with bowl of green soapstone from 'Asaxús'as (see p. 153), made by Púkvé·nátc, a deceased younger brother of Yas who was a cripple,<sup>71</sup> bought from Yas for 2.00,  $7\frac{1}{16}$  inches long, bowl end  $2\frac{5}{16}$  inches diameter, edge of bowl  $3\frac{3}{16}$  inches long.

### G. Ta:y 'uθvúyti'hva po·hrâ'm

(THE PIPE HAS VARIOUS NAMES)

#### a. Pakó: 'uθvúyti'hva pamucvitáva po·hrâ'm

(NOMENCLATURE OF THE PARTS OF THE PIPE)

'Uhrám'í'i'c, lit. pipe meat, is used of the entire surface or body of a pipe. E. g., inlay is made in the pipe's meat.

The big end of the pipe, where the tobacco is put, is called 'uhram'íppa:n, or 'uhram'íppankam, on top of the pipe, the pipe being thought of as tilted up in smoking position. The big end can also be spoken of as kékítckam, where it is big.

The small end of the pipe is called by the curious old term 'uhramápma:n, pipe mouth. About  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch of this "mouth" sticks out when the pipe is tied up in the pipesack (see pp. 180-181 and Pl. 34, a, e). The mouth is inserted in the smoker's mouth. The small end can also be called yítceihkam, where it is slender: this can also be said of the slenderest part of the pipe.

The following text explains the incongruity of this terminology with the White man terminology, which sometimes calls the bowl the mouth:

'Ára:r 'u:m 'úppénti': 'uhnam'íppanite,<sup>72</sup> kuna 'apxantí:tc 'u:m 'úppénti': 'uhram'ápma:n. Pa'ára:r va:vura hitíha:n kunipítti': "Íppan 'ukkō:rahiti 'úhrâ'm." 'Áppapkam pakú:kam ní:nnañitic

<sup>71</sup> Captain John at Hupa had several pipes made by Púkvé·nátc.

<sup>72</sup> Or 'uhnam'íppa:n.

va:<sup>2</sup> 'u:m 'ára:<sup>2</sup>r úppénti 'uhram?<sup>2</sup>ápma<sup>2</sup>n, kuna 'apxantítc 'u:m 'úppénti 'uhram?<sup>2</sup>áhu:p.

The Indian says the top of the pipe, but the White man says the mouth of the pipe. The Indians always say: "A pipe has a stone bowl on top." The other end, where it is small, the Indian calls the pipe mouth, but the White man calls it the pipe stem.

'Uhramsúruvar, the hole or boring through the pipe.

'Ikk?<sup>2</sup>ó:r, the stone pipe bowl.

The cavity where the tobacco is placed is called by more than half a dozen different expressions: 'uhram?<sup>2</sup>íppan su?, inside the top of the pipe (or if it has a stone pipe bowl, 'ik?<sup>2</sup>ó:ra'íppan su?, inside the pipe bowl); pehé·rah o'f·θrírák su?, where the tobacco is in; pehé·raha'iθrúram, place where the tobacco is in; pamusúruka:<sup>73</sup> po·hram?<sup>2</sup>íppan, its cavity on top of the pipe: pamusúruka:<sup>73</sup> paká:n pehé·rah 'u'i·θra', its cavity where the tobacco is in.

### b. Pakó: yiθúva kuniθvúyittí·hva po·hrá:m

(NAMES OF VARIOUS KINDS OF PIPE)

Pipes are classed according to material, presence or absence of bowl or pipe sack, or purpose for which used as follows:

Xavic?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m, arrowwood pipe.

Faθíp?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m, manzanita pipe.

Xuparic?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m, yew pipe.

'Asó·hra<sup>2</sup>m, 'aso·hram?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m, an all-stone pipe.

Xavic?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m 'ikk?<sup>2</sup>ó:rí·ppu:x, arrowwood pipe without stone bowl.

Pe·kk?<sup>2</sup>ó·rahítihán kuma'úhra<sup>2</sup>m, stone bowled pipe (of arrowwood, manzanita, or yew).

'Uhramxe·hvássipu:x, a sackless pipe = 'uhrammúnaxi:c, just a mere pipe.

Po·hrá:m paxé·hvá·shitiha:n, pipe that has a pipe sack. Xé·hva:s 'u'i·fkúti po·hrá:m, a pipe sack goes along with the pipe.

'Araraká·nnimitcas mukun?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m, xavic?<sup>2</sup>úhná:m'mítc, a common people's pipe, a little arrowwood pipe.

Ya:s'arara'úhra<sup>2</sup>m, 'ührámka<sup>2</sup>m, 'uhramxá:a, a rich man's pipe, a big pipe, a long pipe.

'E'm?<sup>2</sup>úhra<sup>2</sup>m, a doctor's pipe. The name designates purpose or use only, since doctors use no special kind of pipe. A pipe used by a woman doctor is never spoken of as a woman's pipe.

'Arara'úhra<sup>2</sup>m, Indian pipe.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Or dim. pamusúnnuka<sup>2</sup>tc.

<sup>74</sup> The pipes of the Yuruk, Hupa and Shasta were so identical with the Karuk pipes that there was no occasion to prepose tribe names to the word for pipe.

'Apxanti'te'úhra'ám, White man pipe.  
Tceaniman'úhra'ám, Chinaman pipe, Tceaniman'uhramxárá, Chinaman long pipe.

'Uhnámhi'ítc, a play pipe, e. g. made by boys, dry maple leaves or the like being smoked in it, = 'uhram'íkyamí'tcvař, a plaything pipe.

'Uhramkohomayá'átc (dpl. 'uhramko'somáyá'tcaš), a right-sized pipe. Puraku vur 'ipcú'nkinatchařa, karu vura puvá'rámahařa, it is not short and not long.

'Uhrámka'ám, a big pipe.

'Úhná'm'mitc, little pipe, = 'ührám'anammahařc, 'unhám'anammahařc, a little pipe. Xaviclúhná'm'mite, little arrowwood pipe. 'Anana'úhná'm'mitc, little Indian pipe.

'Uhramxárá, long pipe. 'Uhnamxánnahic, a slender pipe, = 'uhnamxanahyá'átc.

'Uhram'ípcú'nkíñate, short pipe.

'Uhram'úřu, a round pipe, a chunky pipe. Volunteered, e. g., of the short thick pipe shown in Pl. 30, pipe at extreme right.

'Uhramxútnahic, a thin-walled pipe.

'Uhrá:m 'áffivk'yam yíttci', a pipe that is sharp or slender at the mouth end. 'Uhrá:m 'áffivk'yam ní'nnařitc, a pipe slender at the mouth end.

'Uhrá:m 'áppapkam tinihyá'átc, a pipe with a flat place on one side.

'Uhramfi'pá'yav, a straight pipe.

'Uhrámku'uň, a crooked or bent pipe. 'Ukú'nhiti po'hrá:m, the pipe is crooked. Cp. vasíhk'yú'n'nitc, hunchbacked.

'Uhrámti'íθ, a lobsided or crooked pipe. 'Utí'θhiti po'hrá:m, the pipe is lobsided.

'Uhram'íená'n'nítc, a light pipe.

'Uhrámma'áθ, a heavy pipe.

### c. Ká·kum 'uhramyé'pca karu ká·kum 'uhramké'mmičcas

(GOOD AND POOR PIPES)

'Uhram'íkyá'yav, a well-made pipe.

'Uhrám'yav, a good pipe. 'Uhramyé'ci'íp, a best pipe (among several).

'Uhramké'm'mite (or dim. 'uhnamké'm'mitc), (1) a poor or poorly made pipe, (2) an old pipe. 'Uhnamké'm'mitcta, a pipe already old. (See pp. 163-165, 170.)

Pavura tapufá'thara kuma'úhra'ám, a good for nothing pipe. Vura tapufá'thára po'hrá:m, the pipe is no good.

## d. Ká·kum xú·skúnicas karu ká·kum xíkkihca po·hrâ·m

(SMOOTH AND ROUGH PIPES)

'Uhrámxú·skúnic, a smooth pipe.

'Uhrammúráx, a sleek pipe.

'Uhramšírikunic, a shiny pipe, e. g., shiny from handling.

'Uhramxíkki', a rough pipe.

'Imtanánámnihitc pu'ikyayá·hařa, you can see he did not work it good.

'Imtanánámnihitc vura po·tâ·tcáhiti', it is visible where they cut it with a knife (where they whittled it down).

'Imtanánámnihitc po·taxítckúrihva', it is marked with whittleings with some deep places. This is the way to say it has whittling marks on it.

'Ukxárippahiti', it has been chopped with a hatchet.

'Utâ·vahiti', it is cut with a drawknife.

Vuxitcárámú·k 'uvuxitcúrō·hiti', it has been sawed off with a saw. Vúxitcař, saw. Nesc. if this has "tooth" as prefix. Vuxitcarávuh, tooth of a saw. Ct. vuhä'anammahate, a little tooth.

## e. Pahú·t po·kupítti po·hramřáhup 'ařn kunic 'u'ixyaxvárâ·hiti su?

(HOW THE GRAIN OF THE PIPE WOOD RUNS)

'Ufi·payâ·tc víra 'ařn kunic 'u'ixyaxvárâ·hiti', the grain runs straight.

'Ařn kunic 'u'ixyaxvárâ·hiti', 'ukifkunkúrahiti víra, the grain is wavy.

'U'áttatâhiti pa'áhup, the wood is twisted.

Tcántcä·fkunic pamú'ařn pafatipřúhrařm po·hrámří·ccak. Xaviceřúhrařm púvařkupíttihářa, tcántcä·fkunic vura kó·víra kitc. The manzanita pipe has light colored grain on its surface. The arrowwood pipe is not that way, it is white all over.

## f. 'Itatkurihvarasřúhrařm karu 'uhramříkxúrikkýařas

(INLAID PIPES AND PAINTED PIPES)

Yuxtcananiteřitatkurihvarařúhrařm, an abalone-inlaid pipe. Yuxtánnaniteřu'itatkúrihva kumařúhrařm, the kind of a pipe inlaid with abalone pieces.

'Uhramříkxúrikkýař, a painted pipe. 'Ukxúrikkýahiti po·hrâ·m, the pipe is painted.

## g. Ká·kum 'ührámpí't.cam, karu ká·kum 'uhramxávtcu'

(NEW AND OLD PIPES)

'Uhrámpi'<sup>1</sup>t, a new pipe.,  
 'Uhrampikya·ráppi'<sup>1</sup>t, a just finished pipe.  
 'Uhramké'm'mítc, (1) poor pipe, (2) old pipe. 'Uhramxávtcur, old pipe. Tuxávtcur po·hrâ·m, the pipe is old.  
 'Uhrampikya·yá·pu', a fixed over again pipe.  
 'Uhram?axví00írar, a dirty pipe.  
 'Uhram?amyé'er, a sooty pipe. 'Amyívkite po·hrâ·m, the pipe is sooty.  
 'Uhram?aθkúrittař, a greasy pipe. 'Aθkúritkite po·râ·m, there is grease on that pipe.  
 Teufni·vk'yátc?á·fkitc po·hrâ·m, the pipe is flyspecked.  
 'Ifuxá·'úhra'a·m, rotten wood pipe. Tuxávtcur po·hrâ·m, the pipe is getting rotten. Said of an old pipe.

## h. 'Uhrám?ínk'yurihařas

(PIPES THAT HAVE BECOME BURNED OUT)

'Urám?ínk'yúrihař, a pipe that is burned out big inside. Va; kari takké'tc 'u'i·nk'yúrihti 'íppan su?, pataxxár uhé·taravaha'a·k, paxavic-?úhra'a·m, it gets burned out big inside the bowl end, when the arrowwood pipe has been used for a long time.

'Uhram?ímtá·kkař, a pipe with a gap burned in the edge of the bowl. 'Uhram?ímtáktá·kkař, a pipe with several gaps burned in the edge of the bowl.

## i. 'Uhram?imxaxavárá·řas, pahú·t 'ukupe·mxaxavárá·hiti'

(CRACKED PIPES AND HOW THEY CRACK)

'Uhram?imxáxá·řar, a pipe with a crack in it. 'Umxáxá·rahiti', it has a crack. 'Áxxakan 'umxáxá·rahiti', it is cracked in two places.

'Uhram?imxaxavára'a·r, a pipe with several cracks in it. 'Umxaxávára'hiti', it has tpls. cracks.

'Ikk'yó·rak 'u'aramsf'prívti' pe·mxáxxař po·hrâ·m. Xá;s vura hití-hařn va; ká;řn 'u'aramsf'prívti'. The pipes begin to crack at the stone pipe bowl. They nearly always start to crack there.

Há·ti va; vura kari to·mxáxa'a·r, pakunikyá·ttihá'a·k, va; vura taku-níkyav po·hrâ·m xá;t 'umxáxá·rahiti'. Sometimes it cracks while being made, and they make the pipe in spite of it being cracked.

a'. Pahú·t 'ukupe'mxaxavárá--  
hiti'

(HOW THEY CRACK)

Há·ri va· kú·kam 'úmtcú·ntí  
'apmá·nkam. Kuna vura va·  
ká·n po·mtcúntcú·ntí puxxʷítc  
pe·kkv̄d·rakan.

Pe·kkv̄d·r karu vura há·ri  
'úmtcú·ntí, pakunihé·raramtiha·k  
há·ri, xá·s vura 'u·m hitíha·n  
va· kári 'úmtcú·ntí patakun-  
samýraha'ak po·hrá·m.

j. 'Ippankam kékite, karu po·h-  
ram'ápmá·nak 'u'ánnushitiha·c

Po·hrámyav pa'á·pun takun-  
θáricriha'ak, 'uhnam'íppanite  
kítc pa'á·pun ukv̄íkkuti', karu  
'uhram'ápmá·n'nak, xákkárará  
kite kunic 'á·pun ukíkkv̄uti'.

Po'íttaptiha·k po·hrámíkyav̄,  
va· ká·n kunic kékite paká·n  
'úpmá·nhé'ec. Po·hram'ápmá·ná  
kunic 'u'ánnushitiha·c, va· kun-  
kupáskyá·rähiti'. Va· ká·n  
kunic kékite paká·n 'úpmá·nhé'ec.  
Va· ká·n kúníc 'u'ánnushina-  
tiha·c.

k. Pakó· po'ássiphahiti pamuhé·raha'iōrú·fam <sup>76</sup>

(SIZE OF THE BOWL CAVITY)

Kékic pamuhé·raha'iōrú·fam, its bowl cavity is large.

Kékic pamusúruka· po·hram'íppa·n, the cavity at the bowl end is  
large.

Nínnamitc pamusúruka<sup>77</sup> paká·n pehé·rah u'i·ra', its bowl cavity  
is small.

<sup>75</sup> Lit. is like a little 'árus (closed-work pack basket) a little. This is an old expression used for flaring shape. Thimble is called 'án-nusič, little 'árus.

<sup>76</sup> See also pp. 160-161.

<sup>77</sup> Or dim. pamusúnnuka'atc.

Sometimes a pipe cracks near the mouth end. But where it cracks most is near the stone pipe bowl.

The stone pipe bowl also sometimes cracks, while they are smoking it sometimes, but most of the time it cracks when they drop it.

(THE BOWL END IS BIG AND THE MOUTH END FLARES)

A good pipe when it is laid down touches the ground only at the bowl end and at the mouth end, at the ends only it touches.

When he knows how to make a pipe, he makes it a little bigger where they are going to put the mouth. At the mouth end it flares a little,<sup>75</sup> they finish it out that way. It is a little bigger where they are going to put their mouth. They flare there.

## I. Pahú·t pe·kkv̄·r 'umússahiti'

## (DESCRIPTION OF THE STONE PIPE BOWLS)

'Ik̄·te·kxáramkunic, 'asa·θkurit·ikkv̄·r va; 'u·m pa·ikv̄·rayé·ci·p. A black pipe bowl, a fat-rock pipe bowl, is the best pipe bowl.

'Asaxuz·ikkv̄·r, yáv umússahiti' yiθúva kunic 'upimusapō·ttí', karuma vura xé·ttcitic, 'úmtcú·nti patakunihé·raravaha'a·k. A soft soapstone pipe bowl looks good, keeps changing looks (=is sparkling), but is soft, and cracks when it is smoked.

Po·hrá·m pe·kxaramkunic ukkó·rahitiha'a·k, víri va; páttay 'u·ó·rahiti'. Po·hrá·m patcántcā·fkunic 'ukkó·rahitiha'a·k, va; 'u·m vura tcí·mitc 'u·ó·rahiti'. A pipe when it has a black stone pipe bowl is high priced. The pipe with the light colored stone bowl is worth little.

'U·ícipvárahiti', there is a vein running in it.

'Uypárukvárahiti', there are flecks running in it.

'Icvitáva tcántcā·fkunic pe·kkv̄·r, the pipe bowl looks white in places.

a'. 'Ik̄·re·ctáktá·kkáras

## (NICKED PIPE BOWLS)

'Ik̄·ré·ctá·kkář, a stone pipe bowl, a piece of which has been chipped out.

'Ik̄·ré·re·ctáktá·kkář, a stone pipe bowl, several pieces of which have been chipped out.

'Ik̄·ré·mtá·kkář, a stone pipe bowl, a piece of which has been chipped out by heat.

'Ik̄·ré·mtaktá·kkář, a stone pipe bowl, several pieces of which have been chipped out by heat.

'Ik̄·ré·mxáxá·řar, a stone pipe bowl with a crack in it.

'Ik̄·ré·mxaxavára'r, a stone pipe bowl with several cracks in it.

m. Pahú·t po·mússahiti po·hram?ápma'·n

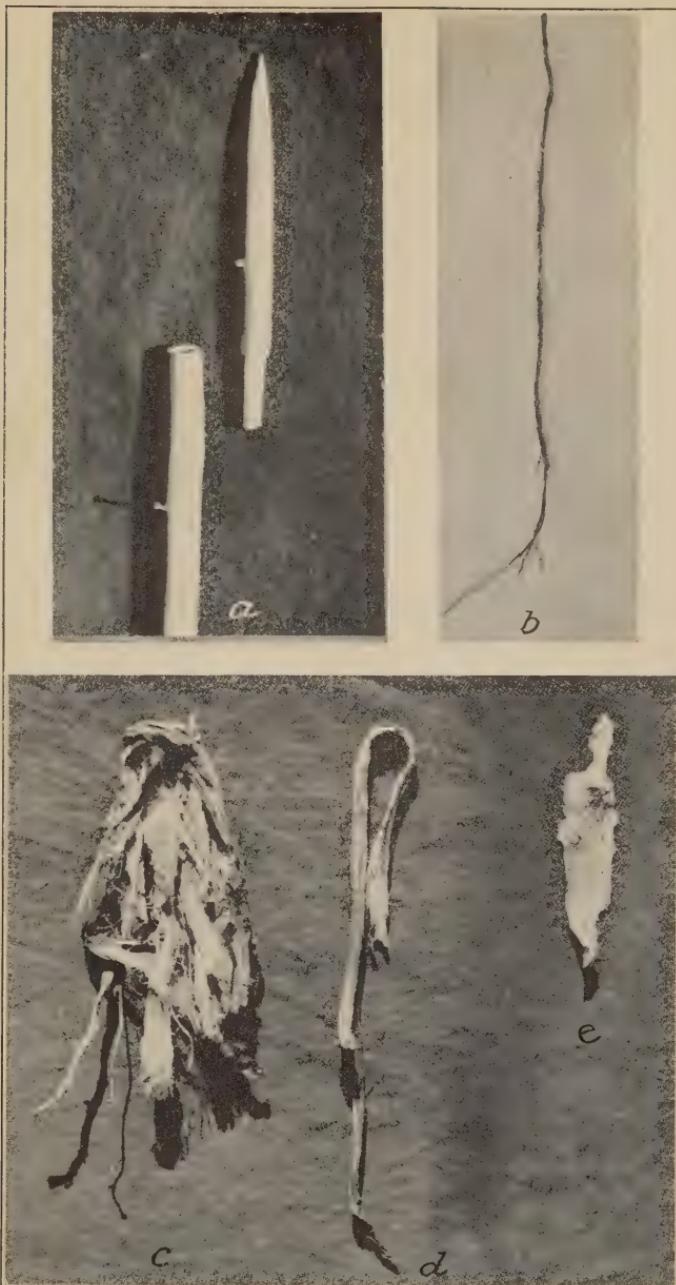
## (DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUTH END OF PIPES)

'Uvúsuráhiti po·hram?ápma'·n'nák, yáv 'ukupavúsuráhiti', the mouth end is cut off, is cut off nicely.

'Umxú·tsurahiti po·hram?ápma'·n'nák, the mouth end is bulging. Old pipes were often finished off this way, it is said.

Kunic 'u·ánnushitihate po·hram?ápma'·n'nak, the mouth end is fat. This is an old expression.

Po·hram?ápma'·nak há·ri 'áppápaváři xás pamusúruvár, sometimes the hole is to one side at the mouthpiece end.



a, Showing how arrowwood arrow shaft tip is dug out for insertion of foreshaft, similar to digging out of arrowwood pipe; b, sinew thread used for sewing pipe sack; c, back sinew; d, leg sinew; e, connective tissue of sinew

*a**b**c**d**e**a**b**c**d**e*

*a*, Pipe in a fringed pipe sack; *b*, arrownwood pipe for which Mr. Modoc made a sack; *c*, pipe sack in last stage of making; *d*, thong of buckskin for tying pipe sack that is being made; *e*, same pipe sack finished with the pipe in it.

n. Pahú't 'ukupá'i·hyáhití karu hā'ri po·kupáθā·nné·hití po·hrā'm

(HOW PIPES STAND AND LIE)

'A? uhyássíprívítí,<sup>78</sup> it is standing (on its bowl end).

=Su? úθxú·priꝫ,<sup>79</sup> it is sitting mouth down. Óí·vríhvak 'úθxú·pták-ku"u, it is standing face down on the living house bench. Hitíha:n vura su? takuniθúppicrihmaꝫ, they stand it bowl down all the time.<sup>80</sup>

'A? 'u'i·hya', it is standing (with either end up). A pipe would be made to stand with bowl end up only in sand or loose material or would be balanced thus for fun. This verb is used of a stick or tree standing.

Tó·kvá'y'rin, it falls over (from standing to lying position). Ct. tó·kyívun'ni, it falls from an elevated position.

'Ássak 'úkvá·yk'yuti', it is leaning against a rock.

'Uθá·n'niv, it is lying. Óí·vríhvak 'uθá·ntáku"u, it is lying on the living house bench.

Tutákní·hcip̄, it is rolling.

## 2. Paxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s

(THE PIPE SACK)

A. Po·hrámyav 'u:m vura hitíha:n xé·hvá·ssak su? 'úkri'<sup>1</sup>

(A GOOD PIPE IS ALWAYS IN ITS PIPE SACK)

Po·hrámyá·ha'ak, 'u:m vura pu-haríxxay xe·hvássipuxhaꝫ, 'u:m vura hitíha:n xé·hvá·ssak su? 'úkri'<sup>1</sup>.

A good pipe is never lacking a pipe sack, it is always kept in a pipe sack.

Pa'apxantínnihitc 'í'n kinik-várichtihaník, vura xá:s hitíha:n paxé·hvássipuxsa po·hrá'm. Yi-thukánva pakun'kiye·eri·hvutihá-nik, paxé·hva:s karu vura yíθθuk karu po·hrá:m vura yíθθuk, va: 'u:m kunipítihaniꝫ: "Va: 'u:m nu: 'áxxakan kin?é·he'c."

But when the Whites used to buy them from them, the pipes scarcely ever had pipe sacks. They sold them separately, the pipe sack apart, and the pipe apart, they used to say: "We will get thus two prices."

<sup>78</sup> Ct. 'uhýári, man or animal stands; 'u'i·kra'<sup>a</sup> (house), stands; 'u'i·hya' (stick), stands. But of a mountain standing they say tu·ycip 'úkri'<sup>1</sup>, a mountain sits.

<sup>79</sup> Verb used of person lying face down, of basket or pot lying mouth down.

<sup>80</sup> A pipe would often be seen standing in this position on the sweathouse floor or on the living house floor or bench.

## B. 'Aká'y mukyá·pu paxé·hva's

## (WHO MAKES THE PIPE SACKS)

'Ávansa 'u:mkuñ pakunikyá·tti paxé·hva's. Hå:ti karu vura 'asiktáva:n kunikyá·tti paxé·hva's.

It was the men who made the pipe sacks. Sometimes the women made them too.

## C. Yiθúva kumaxé·hva's

## (THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF PIPE SACKS)

Va: mit pakunikyá·ttihat pakumaxé·hva's: tafirapuxé·hva's, kar icyuxtafirapuxé·hva's, kar icyuxθirixd'ón, va: mit pakunikyá·ttihat karu paxé·hva's, karu yuhpipθaricriharaxé·hva:s va: mit k'yáru pakunikyá·ttihat, Payú-rùkvå·ràs<sup>81</sup> va: mit kite k'yúníc pakunikyá·ttihat payuhpipθaricrìhå:t.

Mahnu·vanátca:n káru kunikyá·ttihanik pamukunxé·hva's, kunipítti,<sup>82</sup> kuna vura 'u:m pa-mahnu·vanátca:n 'atcví·vma:n kó: xùtnähítce, va: xas pakuntápkü·pputi' pakunic piha va: paxé·hvaslkyá·yav — mahnu·vanátca:n 'u:m xutnahíttcitce. Púmit víra va: xútiaphat kiri nuyukar pamahnú·vahatc,<sup>83</sup> 'u:m va: 'iθivθane·nkinínná·ssitc, tu:y-cip mu'aramahé·ci'p va: mit kunipítthiha:t.

## a. Paxé·hva:s pámita nimmvá·h-tihat pi·nikníkk'yahiý

They say they made their pipe sacks of chipmunk skin also, but chipmunk skin is thin as birdskin, and they liked to make their pipe sacks stiff—chipmunk skin is just thin. And they never liked to kill the chipmunk, it is the earth's pet, mountain's best child, they used to say.

## (PIPE SACKS THAT I USED TO SEE AT KICK DANCES)

Nu: mi ta:y tú·ppiteas ye·rip-áxvú·h'sa, va: tanúvýi·hcip, tanu-muskínvan'va, tanumuskí·nvana:va, papihnsíknik. Ta:y panu-má·hti pakunihé·nati', tcavura

When we were little girls, we would go there. We would go there to look on. We went to look on at kick dances. We saw much smoking, but we never saw

<sup>81</sup> The Yuruk tribe.

<sup>82</sup> 'Afri·tc 'upítti', Fritz Hanson says so.

<sup>83</sup> Many Indians killed it, but there was a superstition against doing so.

mit pukinmáhat yuhpipθaricriharáxé·hva's karu mahnu·vahatc. Va; vura mit kite nimmvá·htíhať, vastaranxé·hva'a.

b. Pa'afivčimyá·thína·tihan ku-  
maxé·hva'a's

Kákum mit 'áffiv 'úmyá·thína·tihat papufitctafirapuxé·hva'a's karu pa'icyuxtafirapuxé·hva'a's, 'affiva'ávahkam kákum mit 'úmyá·thínà·tiháč. Xe·hvas?áffiv mit vura kite 'úmyá·thithihat. Vura va; takunvússur patáffirápù paká;n 'icvit 'úmyá·thiti'.

c. Pe·cyuxmanxé·hva'a's

'Icyuxmanxé·hva's mit kunik-yá·ttihat há·ri, kuna vura piha'. Patakun?ákkó·ha'a<sup>84</sup>, puxxwítc 'úxwá·kti', po·hrá·mmú·k takun-pákkó·ha'a<sup>84</sup>, patakunpimθanup-núppaha:a<sup>84</sup> pehéráha'.

d. Pe·cyuxθirix'yō·nxé·hva'a's

Vura 'u:m puhitíha:n 'icyu:x 'íkkvárátiháphaňik. Vura há·ri xas payíθea kuní·kkváratihaňik. Kuntáttavputihanič, karixas takunkúnni'k, pató·ppá·xfur. Yu:p takunkúnni'k kar aθkú:n.

Vura há·ri xas pakunikyá·ttihat 'icyuxθirix'yō·npú·vic<sup>85</sup> karu há·ri 'icyuxθirix'yō·nxé·hva'a's. 'Ikyá·kamíkyav. Xara kunpúθanti 'á·ssák, há·ri kuyraksúppa' karu há·ri 'axaksúppa'. Kunímmvú-sti' xay 'úmfí·pcur pamúmya'at. Xas 'á·srávamú·k xúnnutckuni-kyá·tti'. Xas 'á·tcip takunvúx-

a weasel pipe sack or chipmunk sack. I only saw buckskin pipe sacks.

(PIPE SACKS WITH FUR ON THE LOWER PART)

Some of the deerskin pipe sacks and elkskin pipe sacks had fur on the bottom, on the outside of the base they had fur. Only the bottom had fur on. They cut it from the buckskin where there is a patch of fur left on.

(ELKSKIN PIPE SACKS)

Sometimes they made elkskin pipe sacks. They were stiff. When they tap one of these, it makes a loud sound, when they hit it with the pipe, when they tap down the tobacco.

(ELK TESTICLE PIPE SACKS)

They did not use to kill elks all the time. Only once in a while they would kill one. They used to trap them, and then shoot them with arrows, when they got caught. They shoot them in the eye or in the throat.

It is only sometimes that they made elk testicle bags or elk testicle pipe sacks. It is hard to make them. They soak it a long time in the water, sometimes three days, sometimes two. They watch it, for its hairs might come off. Then they make it soft with brains. Then they cut

<sup>84</sup> With a stick to settle the tobacco preparatory to putting the pipe back in after smoking; see p. 197.

<sup>85</sup> Or 'icyuxθirixyō·nmáhyá·nnárav, elk testicle containers.

xaxa'<sup>a</sup>r.<sup>86</sup> Xas va;<sup>s</sup> 'appap takun-fkyav paxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s. Takunsíppu·nva poh·hrá;<sup>m</sup> pícci<sup>i</sup>p, xas va;<sup>kó;</sup> takuníkyav. 'Axakxé·hva;<sup>s</sup> 'u'árihicrihti yíθθa θirix<sup>y</sup>ð<sup>o</sup>n, yíθθa θirix<sup>y</sup>ð<sup>o</sup>n 'áxxak 'u'árihicrihti xé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s. Xas va;<sup>s</sup> takuníkrup 'íp-pámmū<sup>u</sup>k. Xas 'ávahkam pamukíccpar takuníkrú·pka', xe-hvas'ápmá·nnak takuníkrú·pka pavastáfan.

'Icyuxθirix<sup>y</sup>ð<sup>o</sup>·nxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s va;<sup>s</sup> 'úθ-vá·ytí'. 'Affiv vura 'úmyá·thiti'. 'Ávahkam takuntáffit.<sup>87</sup> 'Áffi vura kite pó·myá·thiti'. Va;<sup>s</sup> vur uycáráhití 'a'xkúnic karu vura tcántca·fkúnic. 'Imyatxárahsa kúnic. Pufiteθirix<sup>y</sup>ð<sup>o</sup>·nma;<sup>n</sup> 'u;<sup>m</sup> xútnáhitc. Va;<sup>s</sup> 'u;<sup>m</sup> pu'ikyá·t-tihap xé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s, xútnáhitc. Kuna vura 'icyuxθirix<sup>y</sup>ð<sup>o</sup>n 'u;<sup>m</sup> 'ítpu<sup>u</sup>m.

Pá·kvátcax<sup>88</sup> Ka?tim?n?árá;<sup>r</sup> mit, 'áppa pamúpsi<sup>s</sup> mit' ipcu·n-kihate, musmus 'í'n kunvúran'nik, Panámni<sup>i</sup>k,<sup>89</sup> 'icyuxθirix<sup>y</sup>ð<sup>o</sup>·nxé·hva;<sup>s</sup> mit pamuxé·hva'<sup>s</sup> sítcák-vútvarak mit 'uhýakkùrìhvá<sup>t</sup>. Teántca·fkúnic 'a'xkúnic 'ucárá-hítí pamúmya'<sup>a</sup>t, várúmas kunic pamúmya'<sup>a</sup>t.

D. Pahú·t paxé·hva;<sup>s</sup> kunkupe<sup>k-</sup>  
yá·hití<sup>89a</sup>

it in two lengthwise. Then they make one side into a pipe sack. They measure the pipe first, then they make it that size. A pair of testicles makes two pipe sacks; a pair of pipe sacks come out of a pair of testicles. Then they sew it up with sinew. Then at the top they sew a tying thong on; at the mouth of the pipe sack they sew on a buckskin thong.

It is called an elk testicle pipe sack. It is hairy at the base. They shave off the upper part. Only at the lower part it is hairy. It is mixed red and white hairs. They are long hairs. The deer scrotum is thin. They do not make a pipesack of it; it is thin. But elk testicle [skin] is thick.

Pakvatcax was a Katimin Indian, one of his legs was short. A cow hooked him at Orleans. His pipe sack was an elk testicle one. It used to be sticking out from his belt. It had mixed white and red hairs on it, long hairs.

(HOW THEY MAKE A PIPE SACK)

Po·hrá;<sup>m</sup> pícci<sup>i</sup>p kunsíppu·n-vuti pakó;<sup>s</sup> pa'uhrá;<sup>m</sup> 'uvá·rámá-

First they measure the pipe, how long a pipe it is. Every-

<sup>86</sup> Ct. 'á·tcip takunvúppakrav, they cut it in two crosswise.

<sup>87</sup> Making it hairless.

<sup>88</sup> Another of his names was 'Áttatař.

<sup>89</sup> About 1865.

<sup>89a</sup> For illustrations showing the materials for and making of the pipe sack described in the texts below, see Pls. 33, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, and 34. The sack was made by Imk<sup>y</sup>anvan.

hiti'. Kó·vúra pakunikyá·tti', kó·vúra píccí·p kunsíppú'n'vàk. Takunθá·nnamni patáffírápùhák, po·hrá'm. Va;<sub>x</sub> vura takunkupa·θí·criha pakunkupe·krú'ppahe'<sup>ec</sup>. 'Áxxak takunpáttun'va.

Vá·ram takunvúppaksu<sup>r</sup>. Va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> vá·nnámicite kunikyá·tti paxé·hva'<sup>as</sup>, 'ayu'á·tc 'uhramsúrukam u'íra pehé·raha'. Karu vura kó·mahite tinihyá·tc pakunikyá·tti'.

Fíøhi kunic takunvúppaku<sup>r</sup>.<sup>90</sup>

Há·ri 'iøyú'kinúya·tc vura takunvúppakar 'áffi<sup>v</sup>. Karu há·ri 'áffi<sup>v</sup> takuntáttak, xákkarari takunvússu<sup>r</sup>. Karu há·ri takunvu·pakyu<sup>r</sup>.

Pakú·kam u'ávahkámhiti patáffrapu', va;<sub>x</sub> vura kú·kam kunikyá·tti u'ávahkamhiti paxé·hva'<sup>as</sup>.

Há·ri vá·ram takunvúppaksu<sup>r</sup>, va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> kunikritiptíppe'<sup>ec</sup> 'áffi<sup>v</sup>. Su'kam 'ukrúppahiti', 'ávahkam 'ukritiptíppahiti'.

Há·ri xe·hvas'i·cak 'a? vur ukri·tiptíppura·hiti, pakkú·kam 'ukrúppara·hiti'. Va;<sub>x</sub> vura pa'apxan-tí·tc kunikritíptí·pti pamuk-unxuskamhan lánammahate<sup>fi</sup>yú·n'vàr, viri va;<sub>x</sub> takunkupe·kyá·hiti payé'm paxé·hva'<sup>as</sup>.<sup>90a</sup> Pi'é·p mit ním'yá·htihat 'áffi<sup>v</sup> vúra mit kitc po·kritiptíppahitiha<sup>t</sup>, ká·kum pamukunxé·hva'<sup>as</sup>.

thing that they make they measure first. They lay the pipe on the buckskin. They lay it down the way they are going to sew it. They fold it.

They cut it off long. They make the pipe sack a little long, because there is tobacco under the pipe. And they make it a little wide.

They cut it the shape of a foot. Sometimes they cut straight across at the bottom. And sometimes they point it at the bottom. They take a cut off of both sides. And sometimes they cut it slanting.

The outside of the buckskin is the outside of the pipe sack.

Sometimes they cut it long, so as to fringe the base. It is sewed inside, it is fringed outside.

Sometimes the body of it is fringed above, along where it is sewed. As the White men fringe their pistol sacks, so they fix pipe sacks now.<sup>90a</sup> But long ago I saw them fringed only at the bottom, some of their pipe sacks.

<sup>90</sup> Old expression.

<sup>90a</sup> For pipe sack of this description, with side and bottom fringed, made by Tcá·kítcha'<sup>as</sup>n, see Pl. 34, a.

a. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyá·hihi  
pa'íppam<sup>90b</sup>

(SINEW FOR PIPE SACKS)<sup>90b</sup>

Patcimi kunikrúppé·càhà:k pa-xé·hva's, hár'i kunparícrí·hvùtì pa'íppam,<sup>91</sup> karu hár'i vura va:kunixaxasúrò·tì pa'íppam, tupi-tcasámmahite kunixaxasúrò·tì', a:v mû:k kuníkrú·pti'. 'U: mit vura nanítta:t 'ukyá·ttihàt mux-é·hva's, ke·txá:tc mit. Pa'ára:r 'u:mkun vura pupurá:n ko·hím-màtevúthiáp, xa:t mukun?ára'a:r. Pamit vó·krú·ptihàt pamuxé·hva:s 'íppammú:k, pumit paricrí·hvápù: 'ihrú·vtiháf, 'ipamtun-vé·ttcas kítc víra mit pôhrú·v-tihàf. Va:vura mit sákri'v.

b. Pahú·t pakunkupe·krúppahiti  
paxé·hva's

When they are going to sew the pipe sack, sometimes they make the sinew into string, and sometimes just tear off the sinew. They tear off a little at a time; with that they sew it. My mother made her own pipe sacks. She was a widow. The people did not feel sorry for one another, though they be their relations. When she used to sew her pipe sack with sinew, she did not use it made into string, but just used the little shreds. It was strong.

(HOW THEY SEW THE PIPE SACK)

Á'tcip takuníkfú'y'ràv, 'áxxak takunipáttun'va. Pakú·kam 'í·ck'am va:k kú:kam u'ávahkam-hiti' payváhe:m pakuníkrú·pti'. 'U'ú·vrínahiti' pakuníkrú·pti'. Takunpaθaravuruke·krúppaha'. Pavo·kupe·krúpahitiha's k va:'u:m sákri'v. Pakuníkrú·pti paxé·hva:s 'íppammú:k, 'úppas kuni·vúrukti' pa'íppamak. Kó-mahite takunpáppuθ, 'apmanmú:k vura hitsha:n 'ásxay kunikyá·tti'. Pú·vic kúnic takuníkrúp. Pu'ik-ru'prúpá·tihàp.<sup>92</sup>

They fold it in the middle, they double it together. The inside is outside now when they sew it. They sew it turned wrong side out. They sew it over and over. It is strong when sewed that way. When they sew a pipe sack with sinew, they put spittle on the sinew. They chew it a little. They wet it all the time with the mouth. They sew it like a sack. They do not sew it way up to the top [to the mouth].

<sup>90b</sup> For illustration of sinew string used for sewing pipe sack, two kinds of sinew and connective tissue, see Pl. 33, b, c, d, e.

<sup>91</sup> Terms for kinds and accompaniments of sinew are: 'íppam, general term for sinew; pimyur, special term for the sinew from the leg of the deer; vasih'íppam, back sinew; vasih'íppam?áxvi'i:c, the connective tissue or membrane adhering to back sinew.

<sup>92</sup> A medium-sized pipe sack is usually sewed up only to a point a couple of inches below the top, only as far as the section covered by the tie-thong wrapping.

c. Pahú·t pakú·kam u'ávahkam-hiti kunkupappú·vrinahiti pa-xé·hva's

(HOW THEY TURN THE PIPE SACK BACK RIGHT SIDE OUT)

Karixas takunpú·vrin pakú-kam 'u'avahkámhití patakunpíkrú·pmář. Patakunpíkrú·pmara-ha'k, 'á·ssak takunó·vk'uri, kó·mmahite vúrá, xas va; 'u:m yá·mmahúkkátc va'ú·vriń.

'Aθkúrit tcí·mitc vura takuní-vúruk patupivaxráha'k paxé·hva's, va; 'u:m puppíhahařa.

d. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyá·hiti paxe·hvaskíccapař, pahú·t kunkupé·krú·pkahiti'

(HOW THEY MAKE THE PIPE SACK TIE THONG AND HOW THEY SEW IT ON)

Karixas 'ifuctí·mmite xas takuníkrú·pka' pamukíccapař, paxe·hvaskíccapař, pamukíccápára-he'e'c 'íppań. Takun'áripcur pavastářan, 'axák'á·ksíp va; kó; vá·ramahiti' va; takuníkrú·pká', 'íppámmú'k. 'Áppap va; ká;n 'íppan takuníkrú·pka' pavastářan pakíccapař.

e. Pahú·t kunkupa'árippaθahiti patáffirápu'

(HOW THEY CUT OFF SPIRALLY A BUCKSKIN THONG)

Há·ri táffirapu tinihyá·tc vura takunvússur. Xas va; takun'árič, 'asaxyíppitmú'k. Va; vura vár-ramas tu'árihic pa'árihpápu'. Kunvúppákpáθti'.<sup>93</sup> Xas 'íccaha takun'í·vúruk. Xas takunictutútuł. Va; vura vastarányav tu'árihič. 'Aθkúrit há·ri kuní-vúrukti'.

Sometimes they cut off a widish piece of buckskin. Then they cut off a thong, with a piece of white rock. It makes into long thongs that way. They cut it around. Then they put water on it. Then they run it through their hands. It makes good thongs. Sometimes they rub grease on.

<sup>93</sup> They keep cutting round and round the edge of a scrap of buckskin, cutting off long thongs in this way, which are later worked and stretched with the hands and made to lie out flat and good.

E. Pahú't kunkupamáhyā·nnahiti pehē·raha paxé·hvā·ssak.

Púyava; paxé·hva;s takun-píkyā'r, karixas takō'h, pehē·raha su? takunmáhya:n paxé·hvā·ssak.

Tá·ya;n vúra kunkupítti 'ícyā'v, patcimikunmáhyā·nneca-ha:k paxé·hvā·ssak, xás va:takunsuváxra pe'hé·raha 'ikrív-kírák, xas va: 'ák takun·ré·θripá:a pa'ahímpak, va: 'ávah-kam takun·ré·θθíθùn, 'ihé·raha-'ávahkam, va: kunkupasuvaxrá-hahiti'.<sup>94</sup> Karixas xé·hvā·ssak takunmáhya:n.

a. Pahú't kunkupo·hyanákkō·hiti patakunmáhyā·nnaha:k pehē·raha paxé·hvā·ssak

Kó; ká:n vúra patakunipmáh-yā·nnmaraha'a:k po·hrá:mmak kунfúmpū·hsíprívti': "Maté·k xára nímyá·htihé?"c. Pa'í'n ká·rim náxxú·shúnicti', 'ú·m pákam 'iku'i·pmé?"c pamuxuské·mha' pa'í'n ká·rim náxxú·shúnicti'.<sup>95</sup> Vo· kupa'ákkihahiti pe'hé·raha pe'θívθá·nné'en. Pícci:p pata-kuntcú·pha xas takunfúmpu<sup>96</sup> pa'ipihé·raha kitc pamútti'k.

F. Pahú't kunkupé·pkíccapahiti po·hrá:m paxé·hvā·ssak

Takunipkíccap paxé·hva:s, ní-namite<sup>97</sup> 'uhýánnicükvàtc<sup>98</sup> pa-

(HOW THEY PUT THE TOBACCO IN THE PIPE SACK)

Behold they finish the pipe sack. Then they are through. They put the smoking tobacco inside in the pipe sack.

Oftentimes the way they do in the winter is that when they are going to fill up a tobacco sack, they dry the tobacco on a disk seat, they take from the fire a live coal, they move it around above, above the tobacco, that is the way they dry it.<sup>94</sup> Then they put it into the pipe sack.

(HOW THEY PRAY WHEN THEY PUT THE TOBACCO IN THE PIPE SACK)

Every time they finish putting in tobacco into the pipe they pray: "I must live long. Whoever thinks bad toward me, his bad wishes must go back to him, whoever thinks bad toward me." That's the way he feeds tobacco to the world. They first talk, and then they blow off the tobacco [dustlike crumbles] that remains on the hand.

(HOW THEY TIE UP THE PIPE IN THE PIPE SACK)

They tie up the pipe bag so that the mouth end sticks out a

<sup>94</sup> Cp. the description of drying the stems by the same method, p. 95.

<sup>95</sup> This is the Karuk form of the Golden Rule.

<sup>96</sup> Or takunfúmpū·hsíp, or takunfúmpū·hsúf.

<sup>97</sup> Or 'icvit, which means not only half, but a piece of it, a little of it.

<sup>98</sup> Or 'uhýárlcükvà, 'umtáráná·mhiti or 'utnífccuktí.

kú'kam 'uhram?ápma'<sup>a</sup>n.<sup>99</sup> Pusu? yí:v 'ihyáramníhiti? pó:râ'm, vur 'umtaránná:mhítihati pa'uhram?ápma'<sup>a</sup>n.

Va; kunxúti 'ayu'á:tc' ?u:x pe:hé'raha', xay ükkik pehé'raha pa'uhram?ápma'<sup>a</sup>n. Sákri:v 'uk"íccapähiti'. Va; vura pací:tc' kunkupammáhahañik, paxé:hva's, va; vura kunkupé:kyá:hañik. Va; vura kunkupakí:ccapahitihanik. Pe'kxaré:yav pamukun?úhra'<sup>a</sup>m.

Paxé:hva:s takunimθavruké:p-kíccapaha'. Kúyrá:kkàn hâ:ri pí:θvakan 'upsássíkivràθvà pó:h-râ'm'mák. 'Áffivk'yam kú: kunip-kíccapmuti'. Karix'yas takunkixán'yup, pata'ipanní:tcha;k pavastáran, pate'pcú:nkinatcha';k.

### G. Pahú:t ukupé:hyáramnihahiti po:hrá:m paxé:hvá:ssak

Pehé'raha 'u:m vura 'afiv?ávahkam kitc 'u'íppanhiti', tcé:myá:tcava kunipmáhyá:nnáti' paxé:hva's. 'Ihé:rahak 'uhýákkurihva pó:hrâ'm. Pamukkó:t 'u:m vura su? 'ihé:rahak 'ukkúramnihva'.

'Ávahkam 'úyú:nkúrìhvà po:h-râ'm, 'ihé:raha'ávahkam, súruk-kam pehé'raha', 'ávahkam po:h-râ'm. Po:hrá:m xé:hvá:ssak su? ukré:ha';k, pakú:kkam ma?o va:kú:kam 'usurukámhiti', pakú:kam 'lcná:nníte, va; kú:kam 'u'ávahkamhitti'. Va; ukupakú:námnihvahiti<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>99</sup> Or paká:n 'uhram?ápma'<sup>a</sup>n. McGuire, fig. 37, shows the pipe put into the pipe sack wrong. "Maybe some White man put it in for taking the picture."

<sup>1</sup> Lit. it sits inside thus, or 'ukupe'hyáramnihahiti', it stands inside thus.

little. The pipe does not stick way in. The mouth end is visible a little.

They think it is because the tobacco smells, it might get on the small end of the pipe. They tie it so tight. As they first saw it, the pipe sack, so they made it. The Iksareyavs tied up their pipes that way.

They tie up the pipe sack by wrapping it [the thong] around. It goes around the pipe three or four times. They wrap it spiraling down. Then they tuck it under, when it is already to the end of the thong, when the thong is already short.

### (HOW THE PIPE RIDES IN THE PIPE SACK)

The tobacco only reaches to the top of the bottom. They fill the pipe sack up often. The pipe is sticking in that tobacco. Its rock pipe bowl is sticking down inside of the tobacco.

The pipe is inside on top, on top of the tobacco; the tobacco is underneath, the pipe on top. When the pipe is in the pipe sack, the heavy end is down, the light end is up. It rides inside that way.

H. Pahú't ukupappíhahitianik (HOW AN OLD PIPE SACK IS  
pataxxára vaxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s<sup>2</sup> STIFF)

Pataxxára kunihrō·ha;k paxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s, 'áhup kúnic täh.<sup>3</sup> Pamukun?ástū·kmū;k 'uppíhahiti'. Va;xas pakuntápkú'pputi', pappíha', va;x 'u:m yáv pehē·raha 'ukupapivrá·rāmnihahiti su?, patakunpimθanupnúppaha'a;k.

After they use a pipe sack for a long time already, it gets stiff as a stick. It gets stiff with their sweat. They like it that way when it is stiff, then the tobacco falls back down in easily when they tap it.

I. Tusipí·nvahiti pakó; ká·kum paxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s

(MEASUREMENTS OF SOME PIPE SACKS)

The pipe sack made by Imk'yánvan, texts on the making of which have just been given, measures as follows. It is 9½ inches long, 2½ inches wide at bottom, 2¾ inches wide at top. Unsewed gap runs down 2½ inches from top. Tie-thong is 17 inches long and spirals five times around the sack when tied. Made to hold a pipe 6½ inches long and 1½ inches diameter. The mouth end of the pipe projects out of the mouth of the sack a little, leaving about 2½ inches space between the bowl end of the pipe and the bottom of the sack. (See Pl. 34, e.)

A pipe sack made by Fritz Hanson, fringed, and therefore said in scorn by Imk'yánvan to look like a White man pistol sack, although it is admitted that pipe sacks were sometimes fringed "a little" in the old time, has its mouth end larger than its base. It measures exclusive of fringe: 6 inches long, 1½ inches wide at bottom, 2½ inches wide at top; the tie-thong is 10½ inches long and spirals around three times. The fringe is ca. 1 inch long down the entire side, and ½ inch long at the bottom. The pipe for which it was made is 3½ inches long, 1½ inches diameter at bowl end, and when put in properly, with its mouth end sticking out, leaves 2¼ inches space between pipe base and the sack base.

3. Pahú't kunkupa'ē·θti po·hrâ'm

(HOW THEY CARRY THE PIPE)

Pakunifyúkkuna·tihánik, 'aka-vákkírāk sú·hàník pamukun?úhara'<sup>a</sup>m. Va;x víra yítce:tc kúnic-kúrùtihánik pamukun?akavák-kiř, 'í·ckípatcashaňik. Pa'ávansa pé·mpá:k u'áhō'ti', va;x vura kitc

When they used to walk around their pipe used to be down in the quiver. The quiver is all that they used to carry around; they used to just go naked. When a man is walking along the trail he

<sup>2</sup> Or paxxára tava xé·hvā·sha'a;k instead of the last two words.

<sup>3</sup> Or ta'áhup kúnic.

'uckúruhti pamu'akavákkir. 'Ax-máy ik víra tuvíctar 'ihé·raha', to·xxus: "Kiri nihé'er." Víri va<sub>2</sub> kari 'á·pun tó·óháric pamu'akavákkir. Karixas tuhé'er.

Há·ri vo·kupa'é·óoíθùnáhítí' po-vúrá·yvuti pamu'úhra:m pamu'akavákkírak su?<sup>4</sup> Karu há·ri síttcakvútváràk su? 'uhýákkuri. Karu há·ri pamusíttcákvvútváràk 'unhitárá·nkáhítí', pamusítcakvutvaravastárànám<sup>5</sup>uk.

Po·hrá:m kunlé·θtiha'a:k, xas takunippé'er: 'Uhrá:m 'u'é·θti', má·θkúníc po'é·θti', pu'ipítihap: 'Uhrá:m 'u'avíkvuti'.<sup>6</sup> Vura kunipítti: 'Uhrá:m 'u'é·θti'.

carries only his quiver. Then all at once he wants to smoke, he thinks: "I will smoke." Then he lays his quiver on the ground. Then he smokes.

Sometimes he carries his pipe around this way in his quiver. But sometimes he has it tucked under his belt. And sometimes he has it tied onto his belt with one of his tie thongs.

When they carry a pipe they say: 'ührá:m 'u'é·θti' (he packs a pipe), as if he were packing something heavy; they do not say: 'ührá:m 'u'avíkvuti' (he packs a pipe). They say: 'ührá:m 'u'é·θti'.

#### 4. Pahú·t kunkupe'hé·rahiti'

(SMOKING PROCEDURE)<sup>6a</sup>

In smoking, the Karuk sought the effect of acute tobacco poisoning. Effort was made to take the smoke into the lungs and to hold it there as long as possible. Smoking procedure of the Karuk can not be better summed up than by quoting the words of Benzoni, who has given us one of the very earliest accounts of American Indian tobacco smoking:

"... they set fire to one end, and putting the other end into the mouth, they draw their breath up through it, wherefore the smoke goes into the mouth, the throat, the head, and they retain it as long as they can, for they find a pleasure in it, and so much do they fill themselves with this cruel smoke, that they lose their reason."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Or su? úkri'.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This verb is used of carrying a large or heavy object, e. g., a big log, and also curiously enough of carrying a tobacco pipe, either in hand, under belt, or in quiver.

<sup>6</sup> Verb used of carrying small and light object in the hand.

<sup>6a</sup> Illustrations showing the smoking processes will be run in a following section of this paper.

<sup>7</sup> Benzoni, Girolamo, History of the New World, Venice, 1572, edition of the Hakluyt Society, London, 1857, p. 81.

A. Pakumá'a:h kuníhrú'vtihanič  
pamukun'úhra:m kun'áhkó:  
ratihanič

Pa'apxantítc 'u:m vura hití:  
ha:n θimyúricihár kuníhrú'vti  
pakunihé-rati'. Kuna vura 'u:m-  
kun pa'árá-rás θimyúricihár pu'  
ihrú'vtiháp, 'a:h vúra kuníhrú'v-  
tí'.

Ké·ttcas 'u'ik'yukkírihvá<sup>8</sup> pa-  
kun'ássimvana'ti 'ínná:k, 'iθé:k-  
xaram vúr o'ínk'yúti', 'ayu'á:tc  
ké·ttcas pa'áhuþ. Hárri yítce:tc  
vura pe'k'yuk'évit takunihyára-  
ran 'áttimna'vak, pamukun'íkriúv-  
ra:m kú:k takunpáttíva. 'Iθé:k-  
xaram vura 'u:m tce'myátcva  
pakunpí'yú:nkírihti pa'ahuptun-  
vé'etc, va: 'u:m pe'kk'yuk yav  
'ukupá'ínk'yáhiti'.

Hárri 'ássipak su' kun'áhti',  
yu:x su' 'u'iθra'. Yí: vura hárri  
máruk pa'áhup kuntú'nti'. 'A:h  
kun'áhti 'ássipak. Paká:n pa'-  
áhup kunikyá:viciák, va: ká:n  
'a:h takuníkyáv, va: 'u:m kuník-  
mahatche'<sup>9c</sup>.

'Vura hárri xas pakunθimyúric-  
rihti', vura xaráhva xas kuníhrú'vti  
paθimyúricihár.<sup>8a</sup>

B. Pahú:t kunkupa'é·θrícukvahiti  
po'hrá:m karu pehé:raha pa-  
xé:hvá:ssak

Pa'ávansa 'ihé:raha tuvictára-  
ha'ak, patcim uhé:té:cáhá'ak, va:  
kari 'á:pun to'krí:c. Xas tupíp-

(WHAT KIND OF FIRE THEY USED  
FOR LIGHTING THEIR PIPES)

The White men are always  
using matches when they smoke.  
But the Indians smoked without  
using matches, they used the fire.

They have big logs when they  
are sleeping in the living house;  
it burns all night, for the logs are  
big. Sometimes they [the women]  
put just one piece of log in a pack  
basket, and bring it home. At  
frequent intervals during the  
night they add small pieces to the  
fire, so that the logs will burn well.

Sometimes they carry fire  
around in a bowl basket; they  
have earth in it. Sometimes they  
go wood gathering far upslope.  
They pack fire along in a bowl  
basket. There where they are  
going to make the wood, there  
they build a fire, so as to keep  
warm.

It is only sometimes that they  
make fire with Indian matches.  
Only once in a long time do they  
use Indian matches.<sup>8a</sup>

(HOW THEY TAKE THE PIPE AND  
THE TOBACCO OUT OF THE  
PIPE SACK)

Whenever a man has an ap-  
petite for tobacco, whenever he  
wants to smoke, he sits down.

<sup>8</sup> Ss. 'úkú:kkírihvá. These logs, usually two in number, are gradually fed into the fire.

<sup>8a</sup> For illustration of old Tintin making fire with Indian matches see Pl. 35.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 94 PLATE 35



TINTIN DRILLING FIRE WITH INDIAN MATCHES

*a**b**c*

## CEREMONIAL BUCKSKIN BAGS

*a*, Larger bag, used for containing smaller bags. This larger bag has a draw string; *b, c*, smaller bags which are filled with stem tobacco and carried in the larger bag. Models made by Mrs. Mary Ike.

pur pamuxé·hva<sup>9</sup>s, karixas tó·s-yú·nkìv pamu'úhra<sup>a</sup>m. Xas kututukamátru:p<sup>9</sup> tó·yvá·yrámni pamuhé·raha', va:<sup>11</sup> vúra 'u'á·pún-mùti pava:<sup>10</sup> kó:<sup>10</sup> xyáre:<sup>c<sup>10</sup></sup> pamu'úhrá·m'mak, 'atrup<sup>l</sup>á·tcipári. Xas tí·kk'yañ, 'atcípti·kk'yan to:i-nákka<sup>a</sup>r pamuxé·hvasvastáran.<sup>11</sup> Puhitíha:<sup>n</sup> vúra tákkrárihvàrì pamútí:k'yañ, hâ·ri 'á·pun tó·θθá-ric pamuxé·hva<sup>a</sup>s. Xas tumáhy-a:<sup>n</sup> pehé·raha po·hrá:m'mak. Po·máhyá·nnátihà:<sup>k</sup> pe·hé·raha po·hrá:m'mak, pakú:kam pamút-tí:k po'i·θra pe·hé·raha va:<sup>12</sup> kú-kam pasúrukam 'utákkárárihvà pamuxé·hva<sup>a</sup>s, 'atciptik'ansúru-kam 'utákkárárihvà vastářan-mě<sup>u</sup>k. Tuyúrik pamu'úhrá·m'mě<sup>u</sup>k. Atrúpiti:<sup>m</sup> va:<sup>13</sup> ká:<sup>n</sup> 'u'axaytcákkícihtí po·hrá:m. Xas tó·krírihic pamútru:p, pamútrup-mě<sup>u</sup>k tcimítcmahít vura pató·y-vá·yrámni pe·hé·râhà po·hrá:m'mak, kututukamtík'ánká mmě<sup>u</sup>k po·kúttcá·ktí'. Tik'ánká·mmě<sup>u</sup>k 'ukúttcá·ktí', kiri ta:<sup>y</sup> 'uyá·ha'. Pe'kxaré:yav va:<sup>14</sup> kunkupítti-hanik, va:<sup>15</sup> kunkupamáhyá·nnahiti-hanik pamukun'úhra<sup>a</sup>m. Xas a<sup>16</sup> utaxicxic'urá·nnátí pamútru:p 'uhrá:mmě<sup>u</sup>k, hâ·ri vur ifyaká:n vúravá.<sup>12</sup> Va:<sup>17</sup> 'árun kupé·kyá·hi-ti pamútr<sup>u</sup>p. Pamútr<sup>u</sup>ppák vu-ra ká·kkun u'iftakankó·hi-ti pe-hé·raha', pehé·rahá·mta:p vúra kítc. Va:<sup>18</sup> vura kitc kunic pa-

Then he unties his pipe sack, and then he takes out his pipe. Then he spills his tobacco out onto his left palm; he knows how much will fill his pipe, half a palmfull. Then he hangs the tie-thong of his pipesack over his finger, over his middle finger. He does not hang his pipe sack on all the time. Sometimes he lays it on the ground. Then he puts the tobacco into the pipe. When he fills the tobacco into the pipe the tobacco lies on the same hand from which the pipe sack is suspended, hanging by its tie-thong from the middle finger. He puts his pipe underneath. He holds the pipe at the [outer] edge of his [left] palm. Then he tips his palm up, spilling the tobacco into the pipe with his palm a little at a time, pressing it in repeatedly with his left thumb. He mashes it in with his thumb, he wants to get more in. The Iqxareyavs did that way, filled their pipes that way. Then he rubs the pipe [bowl] upward across his palm several times. He empties his palm that way. It is that some sticks [to his palm], just tobacco dust. That is all they blow off, that tobacco dust. The tobacco is kind of moist all the time, it sticks to a person [to a person's hand]. They

<sup>9</sup> Always on his left hand; any other way would be awkward.

<sup>10</sup> Or kó:<sup>10</sup> 'uxyáre'<sup>e</sup>c.

<sup>11</sup> So that the pipe sack hangs down over the back of the left hand.

<sup>12</sup> The outstretched left palm is tipped so that the thumb side is somewhat raised and the pipe bowl is wiped caressingly upward across it a few times as if to gather up the adhering tobacco.

takunfúmpū·hsur<sup>13</sup>,<sup>13</sup> pehē·rahá·mta<sup>·</sup>a·p.

'Ásxā·ykúníc pe·hē·raha', 'ar·u·iftakánkō·tti'. Xus kuné·tcháyá·tchítí' xa'y upásxay, kunxúti xay 'upásxa'y. Patupásxá·ypaha'a·k, va<sup>·</sup> kári pu'amayá·háñá. Kunic 'utá·pti' pató·sxá·yhá'a·k. 'Ap·mánka<sup>·</sup>m paxé·hva<sup>·</sup>s. Paxé·hvá<sup>·</sup>smú<sup>·</sup>k kuní·vá·yrámnihá'a·k 'ührá<sup>·</sup>m'mak, va<sup>·</sup> 'u<sup>·</sup>m 'á·pun 'uyvé·crihe<sup>·</sup>c, 'á·pun.

Patu'árunga pamútru<sup>·</sup>p pe·hē·raha', karixas tufúmpū·ssíp, toteú·pha, to·ppí·p: "Teú páy Tu·ycip<sup>14</sup> nu'ákki", pe·hē·raha'; teú páy ká·kkum nu'ákki Tu·ycip; teú páy 'ám ká·kkum, Tu·ycip. C<sup>w</sup>e, teú páy Tu·ycip nu'ákki', maté·k 'íckí<sup>·</sup>t nammáhe<sup>·</sup>c. C<sup>w</sup>e, 'Iθívθánné<sup>·</sup>n, maté·k pufá<sup>·</sup>t ná·if-ké·cíprè·víca·rā,<sup>15</sup> c<sup>w</sup>e, 'Iθívθá·nné<sup>·</sup>n. Há·ti k<sup>w</sup>aru vura va<sup>·</sup> kuni·pítti': "Maté·kxára nímyá·htí-hé<sup>·</sup>c. Maté·k 'íckí<sup>·</sup>t nammáhe<sup>·</sup>c. Maté·k 'asiktáva<sup>·</sup>n nipíkvá·n·márè<sup>·</sup>c."<sup>16</sup>

Pavura fáttá<sup>·</sup>k yí<sup>·</sup>v kunifyúkkutiha'a·k, há·ti va<sup>·</sup> kuni·pítti': "'Iθívθá·nné<sup>·</sup>n, maté·k namahav-nik<sup>w</sup>yá·tché<sup>·</sup>c. Pufá<sup>·</sup>t vúra ká·rimhá nakuphé·cá·rā."

Há·ti karu vura pehē·rahá·mta<sup>·</sup>f kunfumpúhpí·θvúti', va<sup>·</sup> vúra kunkupítti pakunvénáffipti'.

watch the tobacco lest it get moist, they are afraid it will get moist. If it gets moist, it does not taste good. It gets kind of moldy when it gets moist. The pipe sack has a big mouth. If they poured it from the pipe sack into the pipe, they would spill it on the ground, on the ground.

As he empties the tobacco off his hand, he blows the tobacco dust out of his [left] hand, he talks, he says: "Take this tobacco that I give thee, Mountain; take some of this that I give thee, Mountain; take and eat some of this, Mountain. C<sup>w</sup>e, take this that I give thee, Mountain, may I be lucky. C<sup>w</sup>e, Earth, may nothing get on me, c<sup>w</sup>e, Earth." Or they say: "May I live long. May I have luck. May I be able to buy a woman."

Or when one is traveling somewhere far, he will say sometimes: "Land, mayst thou be glad to see me. May I have no troubles."

But sometimes they blow tobacco smoke, praying the same way.

<sup>13</sup> As a food sacrifice to the mountains, the earth, etc.

<sup>14</sup> Addressing any near-by sacred mountain; regularly Medicine Mountain, if the smoker is at Katimin.

<sup>15</sup> Mg. may no disease or hatred get on me.

<sup>16</sup> Added by the pray-er partly in fun.

C. Pahú·t kunkupa'áhkō·hiti po- (HOW THEY LIGHT THE PIPE)  
hrá·m'mak

a. Pahú·t kunkupa'áhkō·hiti po- (HOW THEY LIGHT THE PIPE WITH  
hrá·m 'áhupmū'u'k A STICK)

Patu'á·hkáha:k pamu'úhra'a'm, patuhé·ráha's'k, hárri 'áhupmū'k tu'á·hka'. Vá·nnámíci'te hárri pa'áhup, karu hárri 'ahúp'anam-maha:tç, 'á·pun vura tu'ú·ssi:p pa'áhup, fá:t vúrava kuma'áhup. Hárri karu vura sá:rip, pamú'k tu'á·hka', saníp'anammaha:tç. Vura 'u:m ta:y 'ukritúmpí·θvá:sarip 'i·nná:a'k, pavik'yare'e:p.<sup>17</sup>

Karu hárri sáppíkmū'k tu'á·hrípa', sapik'íppanite patu'í·nk'yá'. Pasápíkmū'k tu'á·hka'. 'Áhupmū'k tu'á·hka'. 'Ahup 'á·pun tu'ú·ssi:p. 'Á·hak túyú·nká'. 'A:k túyú·nkír ipanni'ítc,<sup>18</sup> va: 'u:m 'u'i·nké'ec 'ipanni'ítc,<sup>19</sup> 'u'axaytcákkicerihti 'á·papkam.<sup>20</sup> Xas 'íppan patu'í·nk'yá', karixas va:mñ'k tu'á·hka pamu'uhram?íppa:ni'te.

b. Pahú·t kunkupa'áhkō·hiti po- (HOW THEY LIGHT THE PIPE WITH  
hrá·m 'imnákkamú'u'k A COAL)

Hárri kumakkári pu'ahupmú'k 'á·hkútiha:ra, 'imnákkamú'k tu'á·hka pamu'úhra'a'm. 'Imnák tó·θá·ntak pamu'úhrá·m'mák.

When he lights his pipe, when he smokes, sometimes he lights it with a stick. It is a longish stick sometimes, and sometimes a little stick, some stick that he picks up from the floor, just any stick. Sometimes also it is a hazel stick that he lights it with, a little hazel stick. There are always lots of hazel sticks lying around in the living house, rejects. And sometimes he takes fire out with the poker-stick, with it burning at the end. He lights it with the poker-stick.

He puts fire on it with a stick. He picks up a stick from the floor. He sticks it into the fire. He puts the tip in the fire, so the tip of the stick burns, he is holding the other end. Then when it burns at its tip, then with it he lights the top of his pipe.

(HOW THEY LIGHT THE PIPE WITH  
A COAL)

Other times he does not light it with a stick, he lights his pipe with a coal. He puts a coal on top of his pipe.

<sup>17</sup> Name applied to the poorer hazel sticks, after the best have been picked out for basket weaving.

<sup>18</sup> Or 'íppankam.

<sup>19</sup> Or 'í·fiti va: 'u:m tu'i:n 'ipanni'ítc.

<sup>20</sup> Or 'u'axaytcákkiceriht lcvit.

a'. Pahú·t tí·kmú·k sú·ya·tc  
vura kunkupaθánkō·hi·ti pe·mnak po·hrá·m'mak

Há·ri tí·kmú·k vura tu'ē·θripá;  
pe·mnak, 'ayu'ā·tc sákri·v mit  
pamukunti''k! Pura fá·t vura  
'áhup vura pu'ihrú·vtihá·rā.  
'Á·punte vura po'ē·θti pamu'úh-  
ra''m pato·θá·nnámni pe·mnak,  
tí·kmú·k vu·ra, va; 'u·m yá·mmá-  
hükkáte 'ukupáθā·nnámnihahe''c.  
Sákri·v 'upmahónkō·nnátí.<sup>21</sup>  
Tu'ē·ttcip tí·kmú·k pe·mnak.  
Xas vura 'u·m tcé·mya·tc  
'ührá·mak to·θá·nnám'ni.

Xá·s vura hitiha·n tí·kmú·k pa-  
tu'ē·θripá'', kuna vur 'úmtcá·ktí  
pamútti''k, kari 'atrú·p to·θá·nnám'ni. Vura 'u·m 'u'ítapti  
po·kupa'aficcé·nnahiti'. Xánna-  
hite vura to·kritiva·ytívay<sup>22</sup> pa-  
mútrú·ppák, pa'a''h, va; 'u·m  
pu'imtcákké·cárá. Karixas súru-  
kam tuyúrik po·hrá·m, pehé·raha  
su? 'u'í·θra'. Xas va; ká·n tó·k-  
kí·mnámnímáθ pe·mnak 'ührá·m'-  
mak. Karixas tupamáhma'.

b'. Pahú·t kunkupatavrá·hi·ti  
sú·ya·tc vura pe·mnak po·hrá·m'mak

Há·ri 'uhtatvárá·rámú·k tó-  
tá·tvar pe·mnak, 'uhnam'íppanitc  
to·tá·tvar. 'Ikrívrá·mmák vasáp-  
pik sáppik 'úθvú·ytí'. 'Áxxa kó·k  
pamukunsáppik 'íkrívrá·m'mák,  
yíθea 'úθvú·ytí pufitesáppik, va;  
karixas vura kuníshrú·vti papú·f-  
fite takun'ávaha''k, karu yíθ  
ikrivramsáppik, va; 'u·m vura  
hitiha·n kuníshrú·vtí'. Kuna pe·k-  
mahátra·m vasáppik u·m yíθ

(HOW THEY PUT THE COAL DI-  
RECTLY INTO THE PIPE WITH  
THEIR FINGERS)

Sometimes he takes out the  
coal just with his fingers, they had  
such tough fingers! He uses no  
stick. He holds his pipe low  
when he puts the coal in with his  
fingers, so he can put it in more  
easily. He feels kind of smart.  
He picks the coal up from the fire  
with his fingers. Then quickly  
he puts it into the pipe.

Most of the time he takes it  
out with his fingers, but it burns  
his fingers, whereupon he puts it  
in his palm. He knows how to  
handle it. For a moment he  
rocks it, the fire, in his palm, so  
it will not burn him. Then he  
holds the pipe underneath, the  
tobacco in it. Then he drops  
there the coal into the pipe.  
Then he smacks in.

(HOW THEY TONG THE COAL  
DIRECTLY INTO THE PIPE)

Sometimes he tongs the coal  
into his pipe with the tobacco  
tonging inserter sticks; he tongs  
it into the top of the pipe. The  
living house poker stick is called  
sappik. They have two kinds  
of poker stick in the living house,  
one is called deer poker stick,  
which they use when they eat  
deer, and the other the living  
house poker stick which they use

<sup>21</sup> Lit., he feels stout.

<sup>22</sup> Or: to·kririhrí·fi.

'úθvú·ytí', 'uhtátvára:r 'úθvú·ti'. 'A?vári pe·θvuy.<sup>23</sup> 'Ayu'á·tc va; 'u:m 'avansa'uhtatvára'r. Xavic?áhup po·htatvára'r. Xavic pakunsuváxrá·htí xas va; po·htatvára;r kunikyá·tti'. Va; pakunóshrú·vtí 'ikmahátra;m patakunihé·raha'ak, va; mū'k kuntatvárá·tì po·hrá;m'mak pe·m'nak, va; mū'uk.

Vúra 'u:m púva; mū'k 'a·hrí-pá·tiháp pu'á·hsíprivtihap 'íppan-mū'k po·htatvára'r, 'imnak vúra kitc va; mū'k kuntá·ttaθunati'. Kunxúti xáy 'u'i·nk'a po·htatvára'r. Hári 'u:m vúra nik 'ahup?ánàmmáhàtemú'k tak-un?á·hrípa', 'uhtatvára:r 'u:m vura púva; mū'k 'a·hrípá·tiháp. Vúra 'u:m va; mū' kitc kunkupítti pe·mna kuntatvárá·tì po·hrá;m'mak. Kun?íttapti páva; kun?íhrú·vti po·htatvára'r. Va; 'u:m xára kun?íhrú·vtí' po·htatvára'r, kunxá·yhití kunxuti xáy 'u'i·n. Vura 'u:m tasírikúníc, tákú·skúníc. 'Íppikúnicta kó·va tuváxra'. Va; vura kuma'uhtatvára'r, va; vura kúkku;m yán-teip'ipmáhe;c ká;n 'uphíriv. Putcé·mya;tc tannihítthaña, xára vura va; kuníhrú·vtí'.

Hitíha:n vura 'áxxak úhrú·vtí po·htatvára'r, va; mū'k pe·m'nak

all the time. But the sweathouse poker stick is called differently; it is called tobacco tonging inserter. It has a high name. For it is a man's tobacco tonging inserter. The tobacco tonging inserter is made of arrowwood. They dry the arrowwood and then they make the tobacco tonging inserter. Those are the ones that they use in the sweat-house when they smoke. With them they tong the coal into top of the pipe, with them.

They do not take fire out with it, they do not light the point of the tobacco tonging inserter, they only tong coals around with it. They do not want the tobacco tonging inserter to get burned. Sometimes they take the fire out on a little stick, but never on the tobacco tonging inserter stick. All that they do with the tobacco tonging inserter stick is to put the fire coal on top of the pipe with it. They know how to use the tobacco tonging inserter. They use that poker stick a long time, they are saving, they do not like to see it burn. It is smooth, sleek. It is already like bone it is so dry already. You will see those same tobacco tonging inserter sticks lying there next year. They do not get spoiled quick, they use them long.

He always uses two of the tobacco tonging inserter sticks to

<sup>23</sup> Old expression. Cp. 'a?vári tupáttuvic [high priced dentalium string of several denominations] exceeds the tattoo mark on the forearm; the expression is also used as slang and means: It is very valuable.

to·tā·tsip̄. Hā·ri vura yítce;tc pamútti·kmū·k to·tā·tvař,<sup>24</sup> 'u; m vúra vo·kupé·rō·hiti po·htatvára<sup>a</sup>r, 'apapti·kmū·k<sup>25</sup> vúra, 'ayu<sup>a</sup>·tc 'áppap<sup>26</sup> 'u·axaytcák-kirihti po·hrām. Va; mū·k to-tā·tvar pe·mnak 'uhnam<sup>y</sup>íppaňite paká;n pehē·rah u'i·tha'. Va;kari tupákti·fcùr pe·mnak, patu-'ink<sup>y</sup>áyá·tcha;k pehē·raha'.

c'. Pahú·t 'á·pun pícci;p kunku-pata;tíci;l·hvahiti pe·mnak

Hā·ri 'á·pun 'ahinámtímmítc to·θθáric pícci;p pe·mnak kó·ma-hitc 'á·pun to·θθáric karixas ik po·θa·ntakke;c pamu'úhrā;m'mak mussúrukam.<sup>27</sup> 'Uhtatvara·ramū·k vura pato·tā·trípa; pe·mnak, hā·ri vura tī·km<sup>y</sup>úk, tu'ē·trípa<sup>a</sup>. Pura hárixay vura námmá·htihára 'ínná;<sup>a</sup>k kuntuñukríppanati 'ahup-mū·k pe·mnak,<sup>28</sup> 'uká·rimhití sú;hinva pamukún<sup>y</sup>a<sup>a</sup>h. 'Ínná;<sup>a</sup>k 'u; m púva; kupítiháp, kuna vura máruk xas 'ikvé·críhra<sup>a</sup>m, pakuhíram karu vura 'akunváram, va; ká;n xas kuntuñukríppanati pa'a<sup>a</sup>h, va; kunkupa'áhkō·hítì pamukun<sup>y</sup>íhra;m pakunihē·ratí'. Mussúrukam<sup>29</sup> to·ttá·tic pa'a-hímnak 'asapatapríhák.<sup>30</sup> Xás tī·kmū·k xas tu'ē·ttcíp, 'atrú;p tó·θθá·nnámni pa'a<sup>a</sup>h, to·kriri-

pick up the coal with. Sometimes he tongs it in with one hand only, he uses the tobacco tonging inserter stick that way, with the hand of one side only, for with his other hand he is holding up the pipe. With them he tongs the coal into the top of the pipe where the tobacco is inside. Then he pushes the coal off, when the tobacco burns good.

(HOW THEY TOSS THE COAL DOWN  
ON THE FLOOR FIRST)

Sometimes he puts the coal on the floor by the fire first, puts it for a moment on the floor, before he puts it in the pipe, beside him. He tongs the coal out with the tobacco tonging inserter sticks, or with his hand. I never saw them in the house scrape the coal out with a stick, it is hard to do it for it is deep where their fire is. In the house they do not do that, but out in the mountains at a camping place, at an acorn camping place, or at a hunting camping place they shovel out fire to light their pipes with when they smoke. He lays the fire coal beside him on the rock floor. Then he picks it up with his fingers, he puts it in his palm, he rocks his

<sup>24</sup> Like a Chinaman handles two chopsticks in one hand. He handles the two pokers, which are about a foot long and  $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch diameter, and usually of arrowwood, most dextrously.

<sup>25</sup> Mg. with one hand.

<sup>26</sup> Lit. on the other side.

<sup>27</sup> Lit. under him.

<sup>28</sup> Or: pa'a<sup>a</sup>h.

<sup>29</sup> Lit. beneath him.

<sup>30</sup> Of the sweathouse.

hríri pamutti''k, va<sub>x</sub> 'u<sub>x</sub>m pu'im-tecáktihára. Xas va<sub>x</sub> ká:n tóθ-θá:ntak pehē'raha'ávahkám, pa'a-hím'nak. Puxáy vura'á:v 'ik'yú:y-vútihara. Patu'ínk'yáha'a<sup>k</sup>, va<sub>x</sub> kári tupáktí:fcùr pemnak, 'a<sub>x</sub> tupáktí:fkíri. Xas kuyrákyá:n kunic tupipamáhma'. Karixas tupáktí:fcùr, pemnak. Tu'ink'yá:yá:tchà sùr pehē'raha'.

D. Pahú:t kunkupe'hyásípri:<sup>n</sup>yaθahiti pohrám, papicí:tc takunihé'raha'a<sup>k</sup>

Patu'á:hkáha:k po·hrám, kari'a? to·hyássiprimmaθ po·hrám. Karixas<sup>31</sup> 'a? tukússi po·hrám. 'A? 'uhýássíprímmàθtì po·hrám. 'A? 'u'i'hyá 'u'axaytcákkiceríhti'. 'A? uhyássíprívtì pa'uhrám, 'ux-xuti xáy 'uyvéc, vo'kupaxaytcákkiceríháhitì 'a? uhyássíprívtì pamu'úhra'a<sup>m</sup>. 'A? 'uhýássíprívtì pamu'úhra'a<sup>m</sup>, va<sub>x</sub> vur ukupa'axaytcákkiceríháhitì', 'a? ûhyás-síp. 'A? vári vur upáttumti', xay 'úyvá:yriccùk pehē'rähà'. 'A:h túyú:nkà',<sup>32</sup> 'uhnam'íppanite.

E. Pahú:t 'á:punite va<sub>x</sub> kari takunpaxaytcákkiceríhti', paxán-nahite tu'ínk'yaha'a<sup>k</sup>

Papicí:tc tuhé'raha'a<sup>k</sup>, puxxwítc 'a? uhyássíprívtì po·hrám papúva

palm so it will not burn him. Then he puts it on top of the tobacco, the coal. It never falls on his face. When it has burned up, then he pushes the fire coal off, he pushes it off into the fire. Then he smacks in two or three times, then he shoves it off, the coal. The tobacco is already burning inside.

(HOW THEY HOLD THE PIPE  
TIPPED UP WHEN THEY START  
TO SMOKE)

When he lights the pipe, then he tips the pipe up. Then he tips the pipe up. He is making the pipe stick upward. He is holding it so it sticks up. The pipe is sticking up, he fears it will spill out. He is holding his pipe sticking up. His pipe is sticking up, he holds it that way, sticking up. And he kind of tips his face upward too, so the tobacco will not spill out. He puts fire on it, on top of the pipe.

(HOW THEY HOLD IT LOWER AFTER  
IT HAS BURNED FOR A WHILE)

When he first smokes, he has to hold the pipe tilted up very much,

<sup>31</sup> With this latter verb cp, tukusípri'n, he smokes, an old word equivalent to tuhé'er, he smokes, formed by adding -ri'n, referring to habitual action (cp. nominal pl. postfixed -rin) to tukússi', he tips it up. If I ask, e. g., where a person is, one answers: 'ukusiprínnatì' (= 'uhé-rati'), he is smoking. Panipatanvá:vaha'a<sup>k</sup>, hó:y pa'ára'a<sup>r</sup>, po'hé:ratihá:k panipatanvá:vúti', xasi kana'ihívrike'e:c, kunippe'e:é: "Máva páy k'yú:k "ukusiprínnatì"'; when I ask where a person is, and that person that I ask for is smoking, then they answer me, they say: "There he is over there 'tipping his pipe up.' "

<sup>32</sup> Touches fire to it.

'ink'yáyá·tchá'ak. Púyava; pa-xánnahite ta pehé·raha tu'i·nk'yáha'ak, kari tusákri·vhà sù? <sup>33</sup> tó·m'nap. Karixas kunic tapu puxx'ítc 'a? 'ihyássiprímmàθti-hàrà po·hrá·m, pató·mnap su?. Va ;kari 'á·punitc po·hrá·m po'a-xaytcákkicrihti', po·hé·rati', tapu 'a? 'í·hyárá po·hrá·m.

Mit nimmá·htíhat kunihé·rati papihní·ttceitcas. 'Iθá·n mit nimmáhat pihní·ttcite naniθyú·kkirukam 'uhé·rati', 'ah'iθyú·kkirukam, káru na; 'iθyú·k mit nikré·et. Papiccí·tc 'uhé·r, 'a? 'uhýássip pamu'úhra'ám, piccí·tc vura pu-námmá·htihàt su? pa'a'ah. Papuxx'ítc 'u'i·nk'yá', va; karixas nimmáhat su? 'imtanánámmihite po'i·nk'yúti', va; kri 'á·punitc tupí·ppé·c pamu'úhra'ám. Mit nimmá·htíhat pámita nikré·rak 'iθyú·u·k. Taxánnahicite 'iteyú·ki-nuyá·te kú:k 'úhyávúttì po·hrá·m.

Há·ri mit taxxárvé·nik ním-mú·stíhat pa'ára;r po·hé·rati-ha'ak, 'ikmahátcrá·m karu vura mit nímmú·stíhat pámitva kuni-hé·rana·tihá', pámitva kunpi-níkní·k vànà·tihá'ak, pa'é·m 'u'i·htísha'ak, há·ri mit vura su? nimmá·htihá', po'i·nk'yúti pehé·-raha', po·hrá·mak su? po'i·nk'yúti'.

#### F. Pahú·t kunkupapamahmáha-hiti'

'A:h túyú·nka', xás kári tupa-máhma', <sup>34</sup> va; xas kumá'i'i tu'in-

before it burns very good. After the tobacco has burned a little while, it gets hard inside [the pipe], it congeals with heat. Then he does not have to tilt the pipe so high, after it [the tobacco] congeals with heat inside. Then it is lower that he holds the pipe, as he smokes, it no longer sticks up high.

I used to see the old men smoking. Once I saw an old man across from me [in the living house] smoking, on the other side of the fire, and I was on the opposite side of the fire. When he first started to smoke, his pipe was sticking up. At first I could not see the fire inside. When it got to burning good, then I could see inside plain where it was burning, for then he tipped it down. I could see it from where I was sitting across the fire. After a while the pipe was sticking straight over.

Sometimes long ago I used to see an Indian smoking, also I used to see in the sweathouse when they were smoking, when they had a kick dance, a doctress dancing, I used to sometimes see it, the tobacco burning inside, burning inside the pipe.

#### (HOW THEY SMACK IN)

He puts the fire on, then he smacks in, his tobacco burns for

<sup>33</sup> Or su? tusákri·vhà'.

<sup>34</sup> Ct. 'upátcupti', he kisses. The Karuk used to only kiss and cluck on the skin of babies. They did not kiss adults.

k'úkkir patupamáhma'. Va;<sup>35</sup> kar<sup>35</sup> upamáhmá'hti'. Xas tu'i'nk'a'.

that reason, because he smacks in. Then he smacks in several times. Then it burns.

### G. Pahú't kunkupé·cná·kvahiti'

(HOW THEY TAKE THE TOBACCO SMOKE INTO THE LUNGS)

'Ifyaká'n víra tupipám'ma, 'apmá:n kári pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m. Kuyrákyá:n kunic po·pipám'mahti'. Pehé·rahá'mku<sup>f</sup> 'axyár tó·kyav pamúpmá'n'nák. Karixas tcaka'í·mitc vura to·ppé·θrú-pa; po·hrá:m pamúpmá'n'nák. Karixas tó·sná·kvà'.<sup>36</sup> Puxx<sup>w</sup>ítc vura tó·myá·hkìv,<sup>37</sup> hú·ntahítc kúnic 'ukupáttcú·phähiti', va;<sup>a</sup> páy 'ùkùpittí: "θ...". Xas tcé'mya;<sup>a</sup>tc vura tupámtcak. Kó·mahite vura tó·ppú·xti<sup>38</sup> 'apmá:nak<sup>39</sup> su? pa·'ámku<sup>"f</sup>. Kiri su?. Kó·mahite vura tupíck'yáhti' 'a? u'é·θti pa-mu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m,<sup>40</sup> tó·xní·chà', kunic tecim upúffá·the'e, 'upámtcákti'. Víra pukunic k'ó·hítihàrà. Kunic kite 'uxxúti': "Kiri sú? ta;y pehé-rahá'mku<sup>"f</sup>." Va;<sup>a</sup> vur upé·pmahónkó·nnáhiti'. Xas to·msús-súricùk yúffiv pehé·rahá'mkù<sup>"f</sup>, káruma víra 'u:m kar upámtcá·kti'. Picci<sup>x</sup>p yúffivk'yam tó·msús-súricùk, kari púva tàxràr. Karixas tutáxrai, tupímyá·hrúpà.<sup>41</sup>

He smacks in a few times with the pipe still in his mouth. About three times it is that he smacks in. He fills his mouth with the tobacco smoke. Then he takes the pipe out of his mouth slowly. Then he takes the smoke into his lungs. He sucks in, makes a funny sound, he goes this way: "θ...". Then quickly he shuts his mouth. For a moment he holds the smoke inside his mouth. He wants it to go in. For a moment he remains motionless holding his pipe. He shakes, he feels like he is going to faint, holding his mouth shut. It is as if he could not get enough. It is just as if "I want more in, that tobacco smoke." That is the way he feels. Then tobacco smoke comes out from his nose, but his mouth is closed tight. It comes out of his nose before he opens his mouth. Then he opens his mouth, he breathes out the to-

<sup>35</sup> For kári.

<sup>36</sup> The verb refers to the whole action, taking and holding the smoke in the lungs and exhaling, and the two sounds that accompany it.

<sup>37</sup> Or tó·myá·hràr. This is the ordinary verb to inhale.

<sup>38</sup> The same verb is used of holding water in the mouth.

<sup>39</sup> This is the idiom. 'iθvá·yak su', in his chest, may also be used.

<sup>40</sup> Held up with partly flexed arm.

<sup>41</sup> When a doctor is dancing and is tired he "breathes out" a note: 'ae·i·. This is called tó·myá·hrúpá<sup>a</sup>, she breathes out. He sucks in air to drive the tobacco smoke into his lungs with a θ-resonance, but breathes it out merely with an h-resonance.

pehē·rahá·mku"uf. Yúffivk'ám  
 karu vura tó·mkü·híricuk. 'Ap-  
 mágánkam karu vura tupíccúsú-  
 rícùk, vura puttá·yhá·ra. 'Uhrá-  
 mak karu vura 'úmkü·fhíricùkti',  
 po'é·ot'i'. Tu'asimteak, kunic  
 tó·kví·thà'. Tó·xní·chà pamút-  
 ti'ík, pakúkkum tupihé'r. Xas  
 kúkku:m vúra tupíck'i'n.<sup>42</sup> Kúk-  
 ku:m vura va; tukupapihé·rah  
 'ipa pícci:p 'ukupe·hé·rahat. 'If-  
 yaká:n 'ik vura hárí hik piθvá:n  
 to·pé·θrúpá; po·hrá:m. Púyava;  
 kari tu'á·púnma tupáffip pehé-  
 rähà', tapúffa:t su?. Po·hé·rátì  
 vura tu'á·púnma su? 'ámta:p  
 kítc tu'i·θra'. Itcánnite vura  
 po·máhyá·nnátì po·hrá:m, va;  
 vura kó:h, itcánnite vúra. Va;  
 vúra yav, yiθθ uhrá:m 'axyàr.  
 Vura ko·mmahítéva po·pipú:n-  
 vúti', po·hé·rátì'. Xas kúkku:m  
 kari tupíppí·ckív. Puxxára 'ap-  
 mágán su? ikré·ta pamu'úhra"m,  
 kuna vura xára u:m vur uhé·rú:n-  
 ti'.

Hárí vura patuhé·rámärähà'ak,  
 xára vur upúxrá·hvúti'.<sup>43</sup> Hárí  
 vura tu'á·ssic kar upúxrá·hvúti'.  
 'U:m kári kúnic vur 'u'ákkti  
 pamúpmá·nák pehé·rahá·mku"uf.

bacco smoke. Smoke comes out of his nose, too. It comes out of his mouth, too, but not much. And smoke is coming off of the pipe, as he holds it. He shuts his eyes, he looks kind of sleepy-like. His hand trembles, as he puts the pipe to his mouth again. Then again he smacks in. He smokes again like he smoked before. A few or maybe four times he takes the pipe from his mouth. Then, behold, he knows he has smoked up the tobacco, there is no more inside [the pipe]. As he smokes he knows when there are only ashes inside. He just fills up the pipe once, that is enough. That is enough, one pipeful. He rests every once in a while when smoking. The he puffs again. He does not have the pipe in his mouth long, but it takes him a long time to smoke.

Then after he gets through smoking he inhales with spitty sound for a long time. Sometimes he lies down, making the spitty inhaling sound yet. It [sounds] like he is still tasting in his mouth the tobacco smoke yet.

<sup>42</sup> Or *tupamáhma'*. *Tupíck'i'n*, like *tupamáhma'*, means he smacks in several times. But *tupám'ma*, he smacks in once.

<sup>43</sup> The verb is derived from 'uxrá:h, berry, and means to inhale with half-closed mouth, thereby producing a long and loud interjection of deliciousness, which is used especially when eating berries and after smoking tobacco.

H. Pahú't kunkupitti patakun-pícná'kvamaraha'<sup>a</sup>k

(HOW THEY DO AFTER THEY TAKE THE TOBACCO SMOKE INTO THE LUNGS)

Va;<sup>a</sup> víra kóvúra to'pmahón-ko:n 'iθá'i:c vúrà, pató·sná·k-váhà'<sup>a</sup>k. Hárí vura pamúyu:p 'a? to'θyívura'<sup>a</sup>. Karu hárí tu-pikyívivra'<sup>a</sup>, vássehk'yam tupikyí-vivra'<sup>a</sup>, tcé'mya:t te vura 'á·pun to'θáric pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m, karixas pato'kyívic. Xas takuntákka:v, kóvúra takuníkcá:hváná'<sup>a</sup>. Pu'-akára 'í'n víra xùs 'é·θtiháp, xá:t 'ihé·räh 'umyú'm'ni, kuna po'kuhítti kuma'i:i tupúffa:th'<sup>a</sup>k, víri va;<sup>a</sup> 'u:m 'iccaha kun?ás-kó·ttí'. Vura pehéráhamú'k tupúffa:th'<sup>a</sup>k, puuxára 'árim θá·nné:ra.

Hárí pe'kpíhanha:k pehéráha', pa'ávansa patuhé·raha:k vura pu'á·púnmutihara patupúffá:-thá'. Hárí vura 'á·pun to'kyívic vura pu'á·púnmutihara. 'Iθára 'í'n xas takuníppé':r: "Yáxa tupúffá:thá'." Tákunma víra xas pamúttí:k 'úxní·chíti'.

Kunipítti ká·kkum papihñí-ttcítcás kuníkti'nnáti', patakun-pihé·rámárráhà'<sup>a</sup>k, kóvúra 'iθá'i:c kunipmahónkō'nnáti'. Xara vura 'upmahónkō'mnáti yav, péhéráha po'víctá:ntihá'<sup>a</sup>k, xára vura yáv 'upmahónkō'nnáti'. Hárí 'á·pun to'kyívic, to'myú'm'ni, mit nim-mýá·htíhat va; mit kunkupítti-ha:, papihñí-ttcítcás. 'Ikpfíhan pehéráha', víri va; pakunvíctá:ntí'. 'Á·pun takuníkyívic. 'U:m-kun víra takunpímta:v. Kunták-ká:mti kítc pappinhí:ttcítcás. Pakunihé·ráná'tí' kuntcúphìná'tí 'ikmahátera'<sup>a</sup>m. 'Axmay ík víra yíθea taputcúphítihá:rà, hinup

He feels good over all his meat when he takes it into his lungs. Sometimes he rolls up his eyes. And sometimes he falls over, backward he falls over backward. He puts his pipe quickly on the ground, then he falls over. Then they laugh at him, they all laugh at him. Nobody takes heed, when one faints from smoking, but if he faints because he is sick, then they throw water on him. When it is from tobacco that he faints, he does not lie there stiff long.

Sometimes when the tobacco is strong, the man himself when he smokes does not know when he faints away. Sometimes he falls to the ground and does not know it. Somebody else says: "Look, he is fainting." They see his hands shake.

They say that some old men have to walk with a cane, when they have finished smoking, they feel it over their whole meat. He feels good for a long time after he smokes, if he likes to smoke, he feels good for a long while. Sometimes he falls on the ground, he feels faint. I used to see them, the old men. It was strong tobacco, that was what they liked. They fall on the ground. They come to again. They always laugh at the old men. When they smoke they talk in the sweathouse. All at once one man quits talking, it

é·kva tó·m yú·m'ni. 'U:m vura xas tó·pvó·nsíp.<sup>43a</sup> Tu'ahára'sm. Va; víra kunkupíttihanič pi'é·p. Víra 'u:m puxx'ítc kunvíctanti-hanič pehé·rähà'. Káruma vura va; kunvíctá·ntihánič pehé·raha 'ikpíhañ. Káruma vura pata-kunímyú·mníhà'a, kun?ahárá·m-mùti'. Va; víra kunkupíttihanič, kunímyú·mníhtihánič. Há·ri yí·θa vura 'ikpíhan pamuhé·rähà, vura kó·vúra kunpúffá·thítì patakunihé·raha'a, kó·va 'ikpíhañ. Viri vo·pitcakuvá·nnáti' pamuhé·rah é·pihanha'a.

Ká·kkum pufáthá·nsà pataku-nihé·raha'a, ká·kkum víra 'u:m-kun pupufá·thítihap. Ká·kkum kunpufathó·tti patakunímyú·mníha'a, karu ká·kkum vura púva; kupíttihap. Vásnak 'u: mit víra 'imyú·nníha'a n patuhé·rähà'. Kó·vúra 'f'n mit k'yún?á-punmutihat Vásnak mit 'imyú·mníhà'a. Mit 'upufathó·ttihat, karuma vura vo·víctá·nti'.

Vura 'u:m papiccf'tc tuhé·raha'a,<sup>44</sup> púva; kár ikyíviceríhti-hára. Víra payí·θa 'uhrá:m 'axyar tuhé·rafíppaha'a, va; ká-rixas pató·kyívic, kárixas há·ri pato·myú·mni to·kyívic.

### I. Pahú·t kunkupappé·θrupa·hit po·hrá·m

Kárixas patupihé·rámar, xas va; vura ká:n tupáffút.sùr pa-'ámta'a. Xas tó·ppúruppa'a. Xas to·knúpnup po·hrá·m, fá·t víra mű·k to·knúpnup.

is that he faints. He gets up himself.<sup>43a</sup> He feels ashamed. That is the way they used to do in the old times. They used to like the tobacco so well. They used to like the tobacco strong. Whenever they faint from tobacco, they always get ashamed. They used to do that way, get stunned. Sometimes one fellow will have so strong tobacco that nobody can stand it without fainting, it is so strong. He feels proud of his strong tobacco.

Some were fainters when they smoked, others never did faint. Some faint when the tobacco gets strong for them, and others do not. Vaskak was a fainter when he smoked. Everybody knew that Vaskak was a fainter. Vaskak used to faint, but he liked it.

When he first starts to smoke he does not fall. It is when he finishes smoking a pipeful of tobacco that he falls; it is then that as it gets strong for him he falls.

### (HOW THEY TAKE THE PIPE OUT OF THE MOUTH)

Then when he finishes smoking, then he puffs the ashes out. Then he takes it out of his mouth. Then he raps the pipe [bowl, against anything he raps it.

<sup>43a</sup> Some broke wind when they fainted.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. papiccf'tc tuhé·rā·nhá'a, when he [a boy] first starts in to smoke.

J. Pahú:t paxé:hva:s kunkupa-pimθanuvnō'hití,<sup>45</sup> papúva po-hrá:m piyú:nvárap

Karixas pasa? teupihyárám-nihé:cáhák<sup>46</sup> pamu'úhra'm, kari tcaka'í:mitc vura tupimθanúvnuv pamu'úhrá:mmú:k paxé:hva:s há:ri 'ahúp'anammahatemñ"uk, kiri pehé:raha 'afivítc kó:vúra 'upiθrí:c sù?. Tupimtcánaknak<sup>47</sup> kiri su? upivráràrámni pehé:rähá:, kiri 'afivítc 'upivráràrámni pehé:raha'.

K. Pahú:t kunkupé:pθánná:mnih-váhití po:hrá:m paxé:hvá:ssak su?

Picci:p tupimθanúvnuv paxé:h-vaspú:vic. Karixas tupíyú:nvár po:hrá:m xé:hvá:ssák. Va:k kú:k-kam 'usú:hití paká:n 'u'a:hke'c. Tcaka'í:tc kúnle tupíyú:nvár. Karixas tó:pkíccap, tupipaθravuruке:pkíccapaha'.<sup>48</sup> Vá:ram pa-muxé:hvasvastá:ran, va:mú:k pa-tupipaθravuruке:pkíccapaha'. 'Uhyánnícükvátc paká:n 'uhram-?ápma:a:n, paká:n 'úpmá:nhé'c, xé:hvas?ppan 'uhýarícükvá'. Xas va:k ká:n picci:tc tó:pkíccap 'a?ippánní:tc. Xas tupipaθravurú:kkuhi. Karixas tusú:ppifha', vastaran?íppa:ntc. Karixas kúkkum tupíyú:nkú:ri, sitcakvutvarassúruk tupíyú:nkú:ri, karu há:ri 'akavák-kírák su? tupíyú:nnám'nì, pamu:xé:hva:s.

(HOW THEY TAP THE PIPE SACK BEFORE THEY PUT THE PIPE BACK IN)

Then when he is going to put his pipe back inside [the pipe sack], then he gently taps with his pipe, or sometimes with a little stick, against the pipe sack. He wants the tobacco to all settle down to the bottom inside. He taps it so that the tobacco will fall back down, so that it will fall to the bottom.

(HOW THEY PUT THE PIPE BACK INTO THE PIPE SACK)

First he taps that pipe sack. Then he puts the pipe back in the pipe sack. The end where he makes the fire goes to the bottom. He puts it in kind of slow. Then he ties it up, he wraps the thong about it. His thong is long that he wraps it with. The mouth end sticks outside a little, the part where he puts his mouth, it sticks outside of the pipe sack. Then he ties it first of all at the top. Then he wraps it spiraling downward. Then he tucks it under, the tip of the tie-thong. Then he puts it back under again, back under his belt, or sticks it back in his quiver, his pipe sack.

<sup>45</sup> This is the ordinary verb meaning to drum, as in the Indian card game. The diminutive, kunkupapimθanupnú:ppahiti', can also be used, and is often used, of tapping an object when one is emptying out its contents.

<sup>46</sup> Or tcim upihyárám-nihé:cáhák.

<sup>47</sup> Or tupimθanúv'nuv.

<sup>48</sup> Old expression referring to the spiral wrapping.

L. Pahú·t 'ukupe·hē·rahiti pafatavé·nna<sup>a</sup>n

Patcim u·á·hke·caha;k pafata-vé·nna;n pamu'úhra<sup>a</sup>m, va;k kari pícci:p pamusítcakvútvar tupíc-yú·nkir, tupí·ru, vastáranmū·k tupinhé·cri', muppi·mate 'á·pun tó·pθá·ric, yá·stí·kkvámkam muppi·mate tó·pθá·ric.<sup>49</sup> Karixas tu-paθakhí·c 'á·puñ, su? tumáhya;m 'uhrá;mak pamuhé·raha', tu'á·hka pamu'úhra<sup>a</sup>m, karixas tupihé·r.

5. Pahú·t pa'úhaf sáripmū· kun-kupe·kfutrá·θunahiti po·hrá·m'-mak

Paxxára takunihé·raravaha<sup>a</sup>k pó·hrá·m', u'úhafhiti sù?. 'Upate-rúkutrúkutti tl' tl'<sup>50</sup> pa'árá·r tuhé·rāhá;<sup>a</sup>k.<sup>51</sup> 'Amakké·m. To·ppi·p: "If 'amakké·m, tu'ú-hàfhá". Tupáttcaak po·hrá·m, púxay ta'amkú·fhírìcùktihàrà, po·hram?ámku<sup>a</sup>f. 'Uppi·p: "'É·, tupáttcaak."

Kárixas pe·hē·rāhà tupí·vá·yri-cùk, tí·kk'an tupí·vá·yrám'nì, xá;t 'ímfir. Kári sárip tu'áppi·v, 'íkmahátera;m vura su? u'ák-ká·rimvà ma·tí·mitc<sup>52</sup> pamukun-pikrukuvára<sup>a</sup>r, sárip. Yí·θea tu'ú-sip, va;k mū·k tupikrúkkò<sup>a</sup>r, sarip-mū·k tupikrúkkò<sup>a</sup>r, teaka'i·tc k'yú-nic, pe·kxaramkuni·rāhaf va;mū·k tó·kfú·tráhùn. Pakú·kam 'uhramápma<sup>a</sup>n va;k kú·kam 'u·arávú·kti patupikrúkkò<sup>a</sup>r, 'íp-pankam kú;k 'u'ikrúkkuvuti'.

(SMOKING PROCEDURE OF THE FATAVENNAN)

When the fatavennan is going to light his pipe, he then first takes off his belt, he rolls it up, he ties it with the tie-thongs, he lays it down beside him on the ground, beside him on his right he lays it down. Then he kneels on the ground, he puts his tobacco in the pipe, he lights the pipe, then he smokes.

(HOW THEY RAM THE NICOTINE OUT OF THE PIPE WITH A HAZEL STICK)

When they use a pipe a long time to smoke with, it gets nicotine inside. It makes a clucking noise tl' tl' when a person smokes it. It does not taste good. He says: "How bad it tastes, it is nicotiny." The pipe is stopped up, the smoke can not come out. He says: "It is stopped up."

Then he spills the tobacco out, he spills it onto his hand, he does not care if it is hot. Then he hunts a hazel stick, in the sweathouse inside in the matimitc there is a [little] pile of rammers, hazel sticks. He picks up one, he passes it through, he passes a hazel stick through it, slowly. With that stick he rams out the black nicotine. He starts from the mouth end when he runs it through, he runs it through to-

<sup>49</sup> He also always lays his spoon down on his right.

<sup>50</sup> Like an ordinary cluck made to a horse.

<sup>51</sup> Or patuhé·raha<sup>a</sup>k.

<sup>52</sup> They keep a little pile of the hazel sticks in the matimitc by the wall.

Xas va;<sub>2</sub> kuna kúkam passárip tu'axaytcákkic kite 'uhram'íppan-kam. 'Ar u'iftakankó'tti'. 'Imxaθakké'em. Tcaka'ímitc vura tu'iθyúruricuk passárip 'íppan-kam. Piccítc patu'iθyúrucuk passárip, kari 'á:k tupá·θkiř. Fá·t vur ukfkk'y'e'c. Karixas 'apmá-nmú:k tupáffutsur pa'úhař, su' patú·ppitcas pa'úhař.<sup>53</sup> Xas áhuppak 'ař tupiknúpnup, tcaka'ímitc vúra.

Va;<sub>2</sub> vúra kite pakunkupe'kyá·hiti', va;<sub>2</sub> kári tayav. Vúra u;<sub>2</sub>m pu'íccähámú:k piθxá·htíhap. Va;<sub>2</sub> vúra kite payáv kunkupapik-yá·hiti', pakunikfutráθθunati pa'úhař passáripmú:<sup>u</sup>k.

Paxxára takunihé·taravaha;<sub>2</sub>k po·hrá·m, va;<sub>2</sub> kari sú;kam taxíkki pe'kk'yó:<sup>o</sup>r. 'Ikk'yó:rakam su' 'u'ínk'yúti pa'úhař, viri va;<sub>2</sub> paxíkki su', 'umtáktá·kpáθti'. Té·k-xáramkunic sú;kam káru. 'Íppan káru kunic to·mtáktá·kpáθ pe'kk'yó:<sup>o</sup>r, pataxxáraha'<sup>a</sup>k.

## 6. Pahú:t kunkupíttihanik súp-pá:hak, pahú:t kunkupe'hé·rahitihani k'yáru vúra

'Axákya;<sub>n</sub> kunpáphi·kkírihti yíθθa súppa'<sup>a</sup>, mahñi't kar iqxurar. Karu 'axákya;<sub>n</sub>ítc vura kun'íp-pamti'.<sup>54</sup> Mahñi't vura kite kún'á'mti kar iqxurar, 'axákya;<sub>n</sub>nitc vúra kite pakun'íppamti'.

ward the top. Then he takes hold of the stick at that end, at the bowl end of the pipe. It is sticky. It smells strong. He pulls the hazel stick out slowly from the bowl end. As soon as he pulls it out, he throws it into the fire. It might get on something. Then he puffs out the nicotine, the little pieces of nicotine that still are in there. Then he taps it out [by hitting the pipe bowl] on a piece of wood, slowly.

That's all they do, then it will be all right. They never wash it with water. That's the only way they clean it, by ramming the nicotine out with the hazel stick.

When they use a pipe for smoking a long time, the stone pipe bowl gets rough inside. The nicotine gets burned on inside the stone pipe bowl and so it gets rough inside: it gets pitted. It gets black inside, too. Also the end surface of the stone pipe bowl is somewhat pitted, when it has been (used for) a long time.

(THEIR DAILY LIFE AND HOW THEY  
SMOKED)

They sweat themselves twice a day, in the morning and in the evening. And they eat twice a day, too. They eat only in the forenoon and evening; it is only twice that they eat.

<sup>53</sup> By puffing into the mouthpiece.

<sup>54</sup> Or kún'á'mti'.

Yíθθa vura mahñ̄t tó·kfū·ksip 'ikmahátera'a·m, to·kváttar. <sup>55</sup> Va; 'u·m 'ícki·t pahitháha;n 'úkvá·ttí-ha;<sup>a</sup>k. <sup>56</sup> 'U·m vura tuvó·nsip kar ukvithárahiti vúra. Vura puxú-tiha: "Kiri kuná·pún'ma, patanivó·nsip."

Karixas takuníruhápsip pa-tó·kváttic. Yí; vura takunipθítí·hivrik po·xráratí pato·kváttí·críhá;<sup>a</sup>k. Tárùpákkam pató·kváttic. Xas yíθθa 'í·n kunaxáy-ri·nk<sup>y</sup>uti pa'áhup 'ikmahátera;<sup>m</sup>su;, 'itcámmahite poyuruvrá·θvú-tí'. Teatik vura tapúffa:t pa'áhup. Karixas takuníphi·kkirí. Kó·vúra tássu? pa'áhup, pe·kma-hateram'áhup, 'iphiriha'áhup, mí·tta'. <sup>57</sup> Va; vura hitíha;n xá:t 'áxxak pa'ára:r kunikváttic, va; vura kó·vúra kuníphi·kkiríti.

Patakunpáphi·kkirí·mára·há;<sup>a</sup>k, kumáxxára xas pakuná·mti', 'í-ná·k xas pakuná·mti'. Va; kari-xas pamah̄itnihátcav kuná·mti', pa'a;vánnihite to·kré·ha;k pakkú·sra'. Va; kunímm<sup>y</sup>ü·sti pakkú·sra'.

One gets up early in the sweat-house, he goes for sweathouse wood. It is lucky to be packing sweathouse wood all the time. He goes out when all are asleep yet. He does not want anybody to know when he goes out.

Then when he comes with the sweathouse wood, all jump up. They hear him far away as he cries coming downslope with the sweathouse wood. He comes with the sweathouse wood to the hatchway. Then one takes the wood from inside, taking it in from on top a stick at a time. Then there is no more wood [outside]. Then they sweat. All the wood is inside, the sweathouse wood, sweating wood, fir limbs. It is the rule that even if two different Indians pack in sweat-house wood [separately], they all have to sweat each time.

When they finish sweating, then quite a while afterwards they eat, in the living house they eat. Then they eat breakfast, when the sun is somewhat high. They watch the sun.

<sup>55</sup> This verb, lit. to pack on the shoulder, is the old expression used of a man performing the sacred and luck-bringing chore of getting sweathouse wood. He steals out of the sweathouse at dawn, goes up the mountain side, cuts branches from fir trees enough to make a shoulder load, incidentally trimming the trees through his daily raids into ornamental shapes which are seen from afar, brings the load downslope crying a lamentful hinuwé which helps to wake the already rousing rancheria, and tosses his branches beside the sweat-house hatchway. Much more complete texts have been obtained on this subject than the present text which purposed only the description of tobacco usage.

<sup>56</sup> Cp. the prsn. 'Ikváttá;a·n, name of a younger brother of Snepax (Mrs. Benny Tom), mg. getter of sweathouse wood.

<sup>57</sup> Or mitah̄'áhup.

Vura 'u:m tcf'mite vura pakunihé'ratí mahñ't vura patakunpáphi'kkirihmàràhà'ak. Karu vura patakunpámvaraha'ak, tcf'mite vura kítc 'u:mkun pehératihàn-sàñ.

In the evening they all come back. Sometimes they come back one by one, and sometimes in bunch. And sometimes somebody comes over to visit them, when they come back. They know what time supper is going to come.

Patakumpámvaraha'ak, va:kari vura takunifyukúppi'θvà pa'ávansaš. Ká'kkum takunik-rihan'va, karu ká'kkum vura fá:t vura kumá'i'i pakunifyúkkuti', ká'kkum máruk, ká'kkum maruk pakunifyúkkuna'tii'. Pa'asiktává:nsa káru 'u:mkun 'áhup takuntúran'va, ('ávansa 'u:m vúra pu'áhup 'ikyá'ttihà-ník), karu hárí fá:t vúra takun?úpván'và, karu hárí fá:t vúra takunikyá'n'va, takunikyá'n'va fá:t vúra hárí, karu fá:t hárí takun?áppi'var.

Pa'ávansa vura 'u:m va:hítí-ha:n po'hrá:m kun?é'otí'. Vura pu'ipcá:mkirihthap, po'hrá:m. Hárí vura va: 'á'pun to'krí:c, tuhé'er, po'vúrá:yvüti'hà'ak. Karu ká'kkum 'u:mkun púffa:t karu vura mukun?íhra'a:m. 'Ikmahátcrá:m xas kuním'yú:mmáhtí pe-hé'er.

'Ixuraxas kó:vúra takunpav-yíhuk. Hárí 'itcámmahite vura pakun?íppakti', karu hárí ta:yvávan vuña. Karu hárí 'akara vura 'í'n takinipmahvákira'a, patakunpávyíhukaha'ak. Vura ku-

They do not smoke much in the morning when they finish sweating. And after the meal, only very few are the ones that smoke.

When they finish eating, then the men travel around. Some go fishing, and some go around for various things, and some up-slope, some go up-slope. And the women go to get wood (the men never made wood) and sometimes go digging, and sometimes go picking, picking they go sometimes, and sometimes they go hunting something.

The man always packs the pipe. He never leaves it, that pipe. Sometimes he sits down on the ground and smokes, when he is traveling around. But some of them have no pipe. They bum a smoke in the sweathouse.

Then they sweat again. They know when, they watch the sun, when it sets then they sweat. The time they sweat themselves is just at sunset. They watch the sun. That is the time they sweat themselves, at sunset. Then they bathe. Then they stay around outside a while. The hot air is going around inside. They wait for it to get cooled off inside. Then they go into the sweathouse again for a while, when it gets cooled off. They are waiting again as it is

n̄á·púnmuti pakkári xas ik pakunáve<sup>e</sup>c.<sup>58</sup>

Púya va;<sub>x</sub> kari kúkku;<sub>m</sub> takuníphi·kkírì. Kuní·púnmuti pakkári, kunímm̄yú·sti pakkú·sra', patuvákku·riha'<sup>a</sup>k, va;<sub>x</sub> kari pakuníphi·kkírìhtí'. Va;<sub>x</sub> kari pakuníphi·kkírìhtí', yá;<sub>n</sub> vur 'uvákku·rìhtí'. Pakkú·sra va;<sub>x</sub> kunímm̄yú·sti'. Va;<sub>x</sub> kári patakuníphi·kkírì payá;<sub>n</sub> vur uvákkù·rìhtí'. Xas takunpá·tvan'va. Xas kó·mahite 'í·kkýam takunpi·krú·nti'. 'Imfir k<sup>y</sup>ar uvá·rāy-vútì sù?. Kuníkrú·nti kiri k<sup>y</sup>únic 'umsíppic sù?. Karixas kúkku;<sub>m</sub> kó·mahite 'ikmáháterá;<sub>m</sub> takunpavyihiv'raθ, pató·msíppi<sup>c</sup>. Kúkku;<sub>m</sub> kuníkrú·nti pató·kxáramha', pató·kxánamháyá·tchá'.

Va;<sub>x</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> kari vura pu'ihé·rátiháp, patakunpáphi·kkírimá·rähá'<sup>a</sup>k. Ká·kkum vura ník 'u;<sub>m</sub>kun kunihé·rati teí·mitc. Hå·ri yí·θøa pa'ára;<sub>r</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> vura hitíha;<sub>n</sub> 'ikmáháterá;<sub>m</sub> 'uparic-rí·hvútì'. Hå·ri tuhé'<sub>r</sub>. Va;<sub>x</sub> kari papuxx<sup>w</sup>ítc kunihé·rätí 'ikxur·rapá·mva'<sup>a</sup>r.

Karixas kúkku;<sub>m</sub> patakunpavyi·θrùk 'í·nná<sup>a</sup>k. Pa'ásiktává;<sub>ns</sub> vura kuní·púnmuti pakkárítah, vura kó·vúra takunpi·kyá·rúffip. Va;<sub>x</sub> karixas kuní·mti tó·kxánamhá<sup>c</sup>, va;<sub>x</sub> kari pa'avakamícci<sup>p</sup> kuní·mti', 'ikxurar tó·kxánamhá<sup>c</sup>. Vur ó·θvú·ytí pavyihfurúkra'<sup>a</sup>m,<sup>59</sup> pa-to·kxánamhá<sup>c</sup>, patakuníppavarukaha'<sup>a</sup>k. Va;<sub>x</sub> karu vur ó·θvú·ytí pakari kunpavyi·hrù·pùkè<sup>e</sup>c, pakúkku;<sub>m</sub> 'ikma-

getting dark, as it is just getting dark.

After they sweat they do not smoke. Some of them may smoke a little. Sometimes one man is in the sweathouse all the time making string. Sometimes he takes a smoke. The time that they smoke most is after supper.

Then they again go back in the living house. The women know when it is time; they have everything fixed up. Then they eat, when it is just getting dark, that is when they eat their big meal, in the evening when it is just getting dark. It is called pavyihfurúkram, the time when it is just getting dark, when they go over to eat. And the time when they will go back out, when they will go back to the sweathouse again, is called iviyihrupúkram. Again in the evening they spend a long time eating, in evening, their supper. When it is night, they are still eating, they are eating yet. It takes them a long time to eat.

They pack their pipe there into the living house, too, when they

<sup>58</sup> Added in humor. They were great bummers of meals.

<sup>59</sup> Mg. the time when they come back in.

háterā:m kú: kunpávyī:hmé'e, 'iviyihrupúkra<sup>a</sup>m.<sup>60</sup> Kúkku:m 'ik xurar xára xas víra pakunlám̄ti', 'ikxurar, pamukunlökxurará'áv. Vura té:kxarámni:k víra kari pakunlám̄ti', karivári vura kunlám̄ti'. Xas xára vura pakunlavúnti pakunlám̄ti'.

Va:tápa:n ká:n kunlé:ti pa-mukunlúhra:m pa'ínná:k ta-kunlóppávár, va:tápa:vá:k kuni-hé:re:c papicci:tc kunpámva-raha'a:k. Va:tápa:vá:k kari takunpihérana'a, patakunpámva'a:r. Va:tápa:vá:s vura hitíha:n kari takun-nihé'r. Kuntcúphina'ti'.

Patakunpámvaraha'a:k, papicci:tc takunpaxúxxá:hva', pa'áv-vansaš. Tarípá:nmú:k pa'íccaha takuníktá:mváray'va, 'iθé:krív-rá:m vura, pa'ávansas víra kítc, patakunpámva'a:r. 'Assippárax-xak kunté:kri'pvúti' pa'íccaha', pataríppa:n 'axyár takuníkyav. Xas va:tápa:m 'axyár takuníkyav pa'íccaha', xas va:tápa:vá:k takunpaxúxxá:hva'.<sup>61</sup> Karu hárí tí:k-mú:k 'apmá:n takunpá:kkara-váθvana'a, hárí va:tápa:vá:kunkupa-piθxáhvá:nnahitihanik pamukunlápma'a:n. Xas kúkku:m vura takunpipaxúxxá:hva kúkku:m, 'axákya:n kunpipaxúxxá:hvúti'. Karu tí:kkyan takunpúxku", 'amtápá:vahkam patakunpák-xú:y'va, 'ahíram. 'Amtá:ppak tu'iríhk'yu: pa'íccaha 'ahíram, va:tápa:vá:kunkupapákxú:yvahitihanik.

Hárí va:tápa:vá:kunkupapákxú:yvahitihanik

<sup>60</sup> Mg. the time when they come out of the living house ('i'v, house).

<sup>61</sup> Squirting the water back and forth through their closed teeth with closed mouth, making a squirting resonance. This action and resonance is included in the connotation of the verb.

go to supper, so they can smoke the first thing after supper. It is then that they smoke, when they get through supper. It is almost invariable that they smoke at that time. They talk.

When they finish eating, the first thing the men do is to wash their mouths out. With a dipper basket they pass around water, through the whole living house, the men only, when they finish eating supper. They take the water out of a big bowl basket, when they fill up the dipper basket. Then they fill their mouths with water, then they wash their mouths out. Sometimes also they stick the finger into the mouth, sometimes they wash their mouths out that way. Then they wash the mouth out a second time; two times they wash it out. And they spit it on their hands [the water from the mouth], it is over the ashes that they wash their hands, at the fireplace. The water spills down on the ashes at the fireplace. That is the way they used to wash their hands off.

Sometimes they pick up Tan Oak rotten wood or sometimes

xanóip'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>. Va<sub>ñ</sub> 'u:m tcántcákùnic<sup>62</sup> paxunye'p'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>, kúna 'u:m 'iθárip'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>, 'u:m 'a:xkùnic, karu xá<sub>ñ</sub> tó:xxá<sup>a</sup>t va<sub>ñ</sub> vura 'u:m puyávhára, 'ar 'u:iftakankd'tti'. Va<sub>ñ</sub> vura kunsánmo·tti paxunye'p'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>. 'áttimnámú:k hitíha:n paké·vní:kkiteás, pavura hárí vurava måruk takun'ífyulk, 'ínná:k kunsánmō:ti' va<sub>ñ</sub> vura 'ínná:k kuntá:rahiti', kíxxùmnípá<sub>ñ</sub> kuntá:rahiti', va<sub>ñ</sub> pasáppi k'aru ká:n 'u:itcapkó:hiti'. Páva<sub>ñ</sub> kupítihansáh, ta:y k'aru vura mukun'ávaha', kó:vúra kó:kuntá:rahitti', kó:vúra kó:kuma'ü:p karu kuntá:rahiti'. Páva<sub>ñ</sub> kunkupa'árá:rahitiha'<sup>a</sup>k, viri va<sub>ñ</sub> takunpi:p 'ararahitihá:yav

Xas patakunpákxú:yvamara-ha'<sup>a</sup>k, 'ahinámtí:m'mítc, xas kíx-xùmnípá kú:k tu'ú:m, yíθøa 'u:m vúra, tu'ú:ssip pa'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>, xas va<sub>ñ</sub> tu'ayí:hváná<sup>a</sup>, pa'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>. Xas yíθøa 'u:m vúra tu'áxxa:y, karixas to:pøivxuyxúyva:n<sup>63</sup> 'apmánti:m'mítc, karu tí:kya:n, to:pøivfí:peür pa'ásxa:y, pu'ihe:ratihap pa'a:kuritkítcha'<sup>a</sup>k 'apmánti:m'mítc.

Hárí paxxé:tteítcha'<sup>a</sup>k vura takun'íxavsúru"<sup>u</sup>, karixas 'a:k takun'íxyá:kkirihvá<sup>a</sup> patakunkd'ha'<sup>a</sup>k. Kuna vura pasakrí:vhá:k pa'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>, 'u:m vúra va<sub>ñ</sub> mû:kite takuntaxúyvu:y.

Hárí vura va<sub>ñ</sub> kite mû:k ta-

black oak rotten wood. It is white, the tan oak rotten wood, but fir rotten wood is red, even if it is rotten it is not good, it sticks to a person. The old women always pack home some tan oak rotten wood in the openwork pack basket. They pack it into the house, they keep them in the living house, they keep them in the corner of the living house, where the poker stick is stood up too. The ones that do that way [that bring home rotten oak wood] have lots of food, they have all kinds of things, they have all kinds of belongings. If they do that way, then they say they are living well.

Then when they are through washing their hands, by the fireplace, then he goes over to the corner, one of them does, picks up the rotten wood, and hands it to them, the rotten wood. Then one takes it, then he rubs it on himself at his mouth and on his hands, he dries the wet off, they do not smoke when they are greasy about the mouth.

Sometimes if it is soft, they break some off, then they throw it in the fire when they get through. But if it is hard, the rotten wood, they merely rub it on.

Sometimes the women folks

<sup>62</sup> Once Camp Creek Johnny's wife and Camp Creek Sam's wife, when camping at Ishipishrihak in the salmon catching season, met a little half-breed girl and called her 'ifuxxá<sup>a</sup>', thinking of the white looking rotten oak wood, because of her fair appearance. The word was used almost as a nickname.

<sup>63</sup> Or to:ptaxuyxúyva:n<sup>a</sup>.

kuniptaxuyxú'yva:n pa'ifuxxá·pa'asiktává'nsa', pa'ínná:k vura pafá:t kunkupavé'nnahitiha'a:k, pupakxú'yvútihap.

Karu hár'i vura pa'avansas tapupakxú'yvaþ, va: vura kitc takuntaxúyxuy mū:k pa'ifuxxá:<sup>64</sup>, patakunyá'vha:k pe'hé'er.

Va: kárixas patakunihé'rana', patakunpaxuxahváyá'tchà pamukun?ápma'a:n. Va: 'u:m yav patakunihé'raha'a:k, pu'ávaha 'ákka-tihařa, pa'ípa takunpiðxaháyá'tchàt pamukun?ápma'a:n.<sup>65</sup>

Va: kumá'i'i pa'ára:r vuha:yé'pcáhàník, papuxxwítc kumpíoxá'htihanik pamukun?ápma'a:n. Karu pehé'rahé'kpíhan kunihé'-ratiháñik, va: karu kumá'i'i pavuhayé'pcáhàník. 'Axxa kumá'i'i pavuhayé'pcáhàník, púxay vúhak 'imfíráhítihapháñik. Hár'i vuhan takunθárák, va: xas vura kari vuha kuniimfíráhítiháñik.

Karixas 'íkmaháteram takunpíkví'tpán'và, pa'ávansas, pa'avansáxi'ttítcas karu vuřa. Picci:p vura 'ínná:k karu kunihé'-rati<sup>66</sup> 'iθá:a:n, patakunpámvara-ha'a:k, xas kúkku:m 'íkmaháteram takunihé'rana', papiccítc takunivýshivraþ. Hár'i karu vura kuyrá:k po'hrá:m papurá:n kun?íθéi'hvúti pe'kmaháteram patta'yvávanha'a:k. Hár'i vura táya:n kunpehé'rati. Xas kunkví'thinà:tí'. Vura 'u:m xára

just wipe themselves off with the rotten wood when they are doing something in the house, without washing their hands.

And sometimes the men folks do not wash their hands, they just wipe them off with the rotten wood, when they are anxious to take a smoke.

Then they smoke, after they have washed their mouths. That way it is good when they smoke, it does not taste of food, when they wash their mouths all out.

That is why the people had good teeth, because they rinsed their mouths out strongly. And they smoked the strong tobacco, that also was why they had good teeth. There were two reasons why they had good teeth, did not have toothaches. Sometimes they would crack a tooth, and then they would have toothache.

Then they go over to sleep in the sweathouse, the men, and the boys, too. They smoke once in the living house, when they finish supper, and again in the sweathouse they all smoke together, when they first go in. Sometimes three pipes are being passed around in the sweathouse when there are many present. Sometimes they smoke many times. Then they go to sleep. They talk a long time in the

<sup>64</sup> Or pa'ifuxxá·hmū:k instead of mū:k pa'ifuxxá:a.

<sup>65</sup> Cp. pu'ihé'ratihap pa'aθkuritkítcha:k 'apmánti'm, they do not smoke when they are greasy about the mouth, p. 204.

<sup>66</sup> Better than kunihé'rana:ti here for there are not as many as there are smoking in the sweathouse.

kuntcú·phina'ti 'ikmahátera'ám, karu hárí kunpakúrī·hvànàti'. Kunikyá·vana'ti pákkuri kákum 'ù·mkùn.<sup>67</sup> Ixaram pakuníkyá'tti pamukunpákkuri, karu hárí márukniñay.

A. Pahú't mi takunpihé'r, karu hárí mi takunpá'tvař, pata-pu'ikví·thápha'sk

Kunipítti 'ar o·kví·thiti patuhé·tähà'ák. Va; vura mit hitíha;n takunihé·rana'a, patcimi kuníkvi·thínà·vícáhá'ák,<sup>68</sup> pe·kmahátcra'ám. Karixas tukupapíkví·tpa pa'ára'sr, pa'ipa tupihé'rat.

Hárí yíθθa puyav kupé·kví·tähítihářà. Tcatik vura tó·pvó·nsíp, tupu'ikví·thářa, hárí pihní·ttceitc, va; kari tó·ptá·màx pa'a'sh, 'uh-tatváráramú'ák. Va; kari 'ahiramti;m tupíkrí·c, 'imnak to·ttá·tvar. Karixas tupihé'r. Karixas patupihé·rámär, yó·ram kú;k tu'i·pma'. Karixas tó·ppá·ssic.

Pasakriv'árá·rhá'ák, patapu'ikví·thá'sk, va; 'u;m sáruk tó·ppá·tvár 'ické·ccak. Tu'árihk'yář. Xas tu'íppaš, tó·pvó·rúvráθ teaka'í-mite kúníc, vurá·kkfrak tó·pvó·ni teaka'í-te kúníc.<sup>69</sup> Kari xas 'ahiramti;m kú;k tu'u·m. Karixas va; ká;n tó·ptá·màx pa'a'sh. Karixas tuhé'r. Xas kúkku;m tupíθxup pa'ahíram, patupihé·rám-

sweathouse, and sometimes they sing. Some of them compose songs. It is in the night that they make their songs, and sometimes up on the mountains.

(HOW THEY WENT BACK TO SMOKE OR WENT TO BATHE, WHEN THEY COULD NOT GO TO SLEEP)

They say that a person gets sleepy when he smokes. They always smoke before they go to bed, in the sweathouse. Then he goes to sleep good, after he has smoked.

Sometimes one of them does not sleep well. Then he gets up again, he can not go to sleep, sometimes an old man, so he then stirs up the [banked] fire, with the tobacco-lighting poker. Then he sits down by the fireplace, he puts a fire coal on his pipe. Then he smokes. Then when he finishes smoking, he goes back to the yoram. Then lies back down again.

When it is a husky person, when he can not go to sleep, he goes to bathe downslope in the river. He jumps in. Then he comes back, he comes back inside with slow motion, down the ladder he comes with slow motion. Whereupon he goes to the fireplace. Then he stirs up the fire there. Then he takes a smoke. Then he

<sup>67</sup> Most of the songs composed are pí·nikníkk'yář, kick-dance songs, but occasionally other songs are composed mainly by working together parts of various songs.

<sup>68</sup> Many Indians still have this custom, using White man tobacco.

<sup>69</sup> One sees his wet body coming down the roof hatchway with the greatest deliberation.

mar, kari tupíθxup pa'ahíram. Xas kari yō'ram kú:k tu'i:pma', tupíkví'tpa'.

Kunipítti va:<sup>a</sup> kari pa'apurúva:n kumá:htiháni<sup>k</sup> pe'kxaram pakunifyíkkutiháni<sup>k</sup>, pakunpatván-kó:tiháni<sup>k</sup>.<sup>70</sup>

B. Pahú:t kunkupe'hé:rahitiha-nik pe'mpá:k, pa'ávansássi:n takunpíkmá:ntunvaha'a:k

Va:<sup>a</sup> xas 'ávansa pe'mpá:k 'u'áhō:tihá:a:k, pehē:rahé:kpíhan 'ussá:nvútihá:a:k, va:<sup>a</sup> xas 'ávans upxus punicvá:nnáti', 'alvár up-mahónkō:nnáti'.<sup>72</sup> Te:kíttam 'á:pu:n kunínní:crihe'en, takuníppú:n'và. 'U:m vura pa'á-vansa 'ukmárihivrikaha'a:k, vur 'uhé:re:c xas ik 'u'áhó:víc. Vur uxxtúti: "Nuhé:re:c xas ik nu'á-hó:víc." Va:<sup>a</sup> xas uxxtúti: "Na:<sup>a</sup> 'ávansa'" páv o'kupítiha'a:k.

Pappiccf'tc purá:n takunikmá-rihivrikaha:a:k 'avansássi'n, te:kíttam yíθea pa'ávansa 'upáhe:n: "Teimi 'á:pu:n."<sup>73</sup> Te:kíttam kunínní:crihe'en, takuníppú:n'và. Karixas yíθea pamu'úhra:m tu'-é:θrícùk. "Teímí àkkite"<sup>74</sup> nu-hé:en," to:ppí:p. Xas payiθea 'í:n takuníhhivrik to:ppí:p: "Teímí àkkite." Xas pamu'úhra:m tu'-á:hka'. Karixas tuhé:r, 'u:m pícci:p vura tuhé:r. Kó:vúra va:<sup>a</sup> kunkupítti' pícci:p kunihé:-

banks the fireplace again, when he finishes smoking, it is then he banks up the fireplace again. Then he goes back over to the yoram, he goes back to sleep.

They say that they used to see devils,<sup>71</sup> when they used to travel around in the night, when they used to go to bathe.

(HOW THEY USED TO SMOKE ON THE TRAIL WHEN TWO MEN MET EACH OTHER)

When a man is traveling on the trails, and has strong tobacco with him, he thinks so much he is a man, he feels high up. Then they always sit down on the ground, they rest. Whenever he meets a man, he has to smoke before he travels. He thinks: "I am going to treat him before we travel." He thinks: "I am a man" when he does that.

When two men first meet on the trail, then one of the men always says: "Let's sit down." Then they always sit down, they rest. Then one of them takes out his pipe. "Friend, let's smoke," he says. Then the other answers him and says: "Friend, let's smoke." Then he lights his pipe. Then he smokes, he himself smokes first. All [the men] do that way, smoke first before they pass it. Then he passes it to

<sup>70</sup> Or pakunpá:tvtiháni<sup>k</sup>, when they used to bathe.

<sup>71</sup> I. e., witch-doctors.

<sup>72</sup> He feels like a thousand dollars, Fritz Hanson volunteered in dictating this text.

<sup>73</sup> Or: tcimi maté:'á:pu:n, let's sit down for a while.

<sup>74</sup> In slow tempo: tcímmi 'àkkite.

rati', karixas takuníθ̄i'. Karixas tu'iθ̄i pa'ip ukmárihívrík'at'. Karixas tuhē'r 'úpa'an, takuníθ̄i'. Va; vura kuma'úhra:m patuhé'r 'úpa'an. Xas takunkó'ha pakunihé'ratí'.<sup>75</sup>

Karixas yíθ̄a 'úpa:n pamu'úhra:m tu'ēθ̄ricuk. Karixas 'úpa:n tu'iθ̄i', pa'ipa 'f'n kundiθ̄ihat. 'Upa:n to'pe'er: "Tcim ihé'ri nápa:n pananihé'raha." To'ppi:p: "Tcim ákkite 'ípa:n nu'iθ̄i'." Xas 'u:m pícci:p tuhē'er. 'U:m karu vura va; to:kú'pha', pícci:p tuhē'er. Karixas 'úpa:n tu'iθ̄i' 'ípa 'f'n kundiθ̄ihat pícci:p. Xas to'ppi:p: "Yé'hæh, 'íffakite 'ákkat pamihé'raha." Xas payíθ̄o uppí:p: "Yé'kite<sup>76</sup> pú'hařa." To'pvás-suřar. Tó'ksahàtc pato'kpí:p: "Yé'kite pú'hařa." Xas takunpihé'ramar. Payíθ̄a pamu'úhra:m to'pθári. Viri 'ú'mtahik su' upíyú'nváre'e, pó'xní'chítì pamút'ti'k. Kó;v ikpíhan pamuhé'raha'. Kar upakátk'tì pamúpmá'n'nák.

Xára kunihé'rúnti'. Xára xas kunpihé'ramarati'. Karixas takunpí:p: "Tcém, tcím ákkite nu'áhu". Tcím ákkite 'í:m k'yár u'áhu", káru na; tcími k'yán'áhu". Tcím ákkite kuyá:p-kùhi".

a. Pahú:t mit 'ukupe·hé'rahitihat 'impá:k mitva<sup>77</sup> nanixúkkam

Kuyrákyá:n mit karuk nupiyá:ramat 'Áyiθ̄rim 'Ápsu:n xák-

that one he has met. Then he smokes in turn, he is being treated. He smokes in turn the same pipe. Then they finish smoking.

Then the other one in turn takes out his pipe. He treats him back, the one who has treated him. He says to him in turn: "You would better smoke my tobacco." He says: "Friend, I am going to treat you back." Then he smokes it himself first. He does the same way, smokes first. Then he gives it in turn to the one that has treated him first. Then he says: "Well, friend, your tobacco is strong." Then the other one says: "Well, friend, no." He denies it. He kind of smiles as he says: "Well, friend, no." Then they are through smoking. He gives back the other fellow's pipe. He can hardly put it back in the sack, his hand trembles. His tobacco is so strong. He is tasting it yet in his mouth.

It takes them a long while to smoke. It takes them a long time to finish. Then they say: "All right, let's travel. You would better travel, and I am going to travel, too. Then, friend, good-bye."

(HOW MY DECEASED UNCLE USED TO SMOKE ON THE TRAIL)

Three times I made a trip upriver with my uncle Snake

<sup>75</sup> Or xas takunpihé'ramar instead of these three words.

<sup>76</sup> Used as if it were for \*yé'hæ 'ákkite, well, friend.

<sup>77</sup> Or pámitva'.

ka'ān. Nanixúkka mit, ni'áttivúti pananu'ámki'n'và. Yí:v, yí:v karuk panu'áhō·tì', yí:v panu'úmmó·tì yiθθa súppa'<sup>a</sup>. Yí:v pava:ká:n vá'u:m yiθθa súppa'<sup>a</sup>, Panámni:k va'árámsi:p, pa'ar u'áttivúti'hà<sup>a</sup>k. 'Umuk"ítcmahite panu'áhō·tì' po'pitti': "Tcimi nú-pú'n'vì. Teim nihé·re'e." Púya va:kari tuhé'r. Tce'myáteva po'hé·rati', 'apxanti:tceθimyúricri-har vura pó·hrū·vtì'. 'Ahup'ás-sipak mit po'máhyá·nnáhitihàt pamukun'ahikyá:r Pa'apxantín-nihic, va:kó:k po'ē·θthàt 'ahup'ás-sipak. Na:va:kari tanni'av pananu'ámki'n'và pakari po'hé·rati'hà<sup>a</sup>k. Xara vura puhé·rú·ntì', hitsha:n vura pato·krí·crihá<sup>a</sup>k patuhé·raha<sup>a</sup>k. 'U:m vura putcú·phitihara patuhé·rähà<sup>a</sup>k, xára xas vura po'pú·hyánati'. Su? kunic puffá·th ó·kri<sup>b</sup>, 'ikpíhan pehé·rähà'. Karixas to'pí:p: "Tcō·ra, tcimi nu'íppahu<sup>c</sup>."

Va: mit né·pē·ntihà:t: "Xáy fa:t 'íccah e'i·cti' pe'mpá:k pe'áhō·tiha<sup>a</sup>k. Puhári<sup>78</sup> vur icpu k m áhē·cárà,<sup>79</sup> pa'íccaha ta:y i'i·ctihá<sup>a</sup>k." Xá:s ik vura va:puna'íccé·cárà pa'íccaha' pani'áhō·tiha<sup>a</sup>k teatik víra.vá:y i:v tani'ú:m. Pámítva nifú'l·ctihàt Ápsu:n pamútce'phà'.<sup>80</sup> Patani'ú:m-máha<sup>a</sup>k, xas xúras<sup>81</sup> tání'ic. Va: u:m pu'ára ku'íttihara. Xá:t

to Ayithrim. I was packing our lunch in a pack basket. Far, far upriver we walked, a long trip for one day. It is a long way to go there in one day from Orleans when anybody has a load. Every little way as we were walking along he would say: "Let us take a rest. I am going to smoke." Then he smoked. Every once in a while he smoked, using white man matches. He had white man matches in a little wooden keg, he was packing that kind in a little wooden keg. And I would lunch while he was smoking. It took him a long time to smoke every time that he sat down and smoked. He did not talk when he smoked, only after a long time did he talk. He sat there kind of fainting inside. Then he would say: "Let us go, let us travel."

He used to tell me: "Never drink water when traveling along the road. You never will earn any money, if you drink much water." So I scarcely used to drink any water along all that road. I kind of believed what Snake said. When I got there, then I drank acorn water. Nobody gets sick from that; I do not care if he has traveled a

<sup>78</sup> Or: puharíxa:y.

<sup>79</sup> Lit. see.

<sup>80</sup> His word.

<sup>81</sup> Xúras, water with a very little acorn soup stirred up in it, from xú:n, acorn soup, -as, water. Also called xurás'a:s, acorn-soup-water water, adding the ordinary postpound form -'a:s, water, to xu:as, which already contains the shorter postpound form, -as.

yí:v 'ú:úm, vura pukkúhé:ca:ra, xá:t paxxúras 'u'iccaha'a:k. Xá:t 'ip yí:v tu'ú:m'mat, viri xá:t 'ip 'iccah ó:rxá:t'i, va: vura pukku-hé:ca:ra, paxxurás:a:s<sup>81</sup> 'u'iccaha'a:k.

b. Pahú:t mitva kunkupíttihat pa'asiktávansi:n takunpík-má:ntunvaha:k 'impá:k

Káru 'u:m pa'asiktává:n 'asiktává:n to'kmárihívríkaha'a:k, vur u'á:ttícríhití 'á:pun, mé:kva tui-píhtá:nvà pamu'ámki:n'và. Púya va: 'u:m karu vo:kupíttihani:k pa'asiktává:n. Va: kunkupíttihani:k pa'ára'a:r. Pa'é:mcaha:k 'u:mkun kítc, xas va: takunihé:e:r, va: vúra kítc pa'áxxak 'é:mcaha:a:k, va: xas vúra xákka:n takunihé:r pa'asiktává:nsa:.

Kiri ve:mmáhanik paká:n pata-purá:n kunikmárihívríkaha'a:k pa'asiktává:nsa:, karu há:ri va: ká:n patapurá:n kunippáhári:θ-θùn, Kahí:vré:r 'Ipú:nvá:ram.<sup>82</sup> Kir immáhanik<sup>83</sup> pa'áttimnam pa'á:pun 'uvúmní:nná:a. Va: ká:n pakuníppú:nvana:tihánik, Kahí:vré:r 'Ipú:nvá:ram. Vura 'u:m ta:y va: ká:n purá:n kunikmárihívrí:kvútihánik pa'asiktává:nsa:. Va: ká:n 'á:pun pakunírá:rá:tihánik, kuníppú:nváná:tihánik, purá:n pakuní:ákkítihi-nik pa'ávaha'.

'Iθá:n nva: pi'é:p Kahí:vré:r 'Ipú:nvá:ram va: ká:n nanittá:t 'asiktává:n 'uppáhari:θθùnánik. Vúppam 'uyá:rarahitiha:nik pa'asiktává:n. Káruma va: pa-

long way, he does not get sick, if he drinks acorn water. I do not care if he has gone a long way and is thirsty for water, he never gets sick if he drinks acorn water.

(HOW THEY DID WHEN TWO WOMEN MET EACH OTHER ON THE TRAIL)

But when a woman met a woman, she set her load down on the ground, she gets out her lunch. That is the way the women used to do. That is the way the people used to do. Only when they are doctresses, then they smoke, only when the two of them are doctresses, then do the women smoke together.

I wish you could have seen how the women used to meet one another there, or catch up with one another there, at Woodson's Flat Resting Place. I wish you could have seen the pack baskets sitting around on the ground. There is where they used to rest, at Woodson's Flat Resting Place. There many women met together. They used to sit around there on the ground, resting, giving one another lunch.

Once long ago there at Woodson's Flat Resting Place my mother met a woman. The woman was married at Redcap rancheria. And it was that my mother's

<sup>82</sup> The Douglas Fir tree where they used to rest is still standing and the near-by spring is still unmolested.

<sup>83</sup> Or kiri 'immáha:nik.

nanítta:t 'u:m mu'ávanhanik pakó:va kunváθθí:nná:tihanik pa'sisktává:n mutipáhí:vcáhañik, va: mupíccipvannahi:c. Vura hú:ntáhite kunkúphá'n'nik, xas va: ká:n kun?ávanik xákka'a:n. Xas purá:n vura kun?ákkihani:k, 'amvé:cvitvit, purá:n kun?ákkihani:k. Puyé:f 'u:m Kunyé:pca-hani:k, 'u:mkun víra va: puxxúti-hap kiri pakká:tim. Xas pakun-pámva'a:r, kari kun?íppahu"u, xák-ka:a:n vura kun?íppahu"u, káru<sup>84</sup> kumpínno'o:v, xákka'a:n, Pakun-pámva'a:r.

c. Pahú:t mit pa'u:s kunkupe-k'yá:hitiha:t, pámitv o:kupíttihat pa'ávansa tupihé:t 'ipaha'áffív

"Tcô:ra 'ù:s<sup>85</sup> nu'áxxan'vi." "Tcém. Hô:y pavurá:n'nar." Xas pa'ávansa va: kítc tó:kvá:t'-sip pavurá:n'nar, karu patax-vukríppañan, káru 'u:m pa'asik-tává:n 'áttimnam kite tu'áttiv, kar imvá:tam, káru 'usikxúha:r, pamukun?ámki:nv 'u'áttivuti'.

Xas pa'ávansa to:pí:p: "Va:xasik víra nivô:rürá:víc súva'í:k'yá:r." Paká:kkum 'itahánám-mahítc kúnpíkctcússähíná:t'. 'Ax-máyik 'uppé:c: "Máva. Tcimi'á:pun tcími' nùkyàv pé:kvé:cri-hra:a:m." Takunpíkk'yá:r va: ká:n xás kunikvé:crihtí pa'iccahát-i'm.

Kárixas to:ppí:p: "Tcími k'yan-vô:rúra'a:" Xas pamutaxvúkkar 'atrá:x tó:mó:tárá:nká patatrí:h-várámú"u:k. Kárixas tó:ksáppic pámuvurá:n'nar. Kárixás to:pí:p:

husband had been fighting with that woman's brothers a little before. Then it was that they did a strange thing, they ate together! They gave each other lunch, pieces of salmon; they gave each other lunch. How good they were, they did not want to have trouble. And when they finished eating, they went along together, upriver they went together, when they finished eating.

(HOW THEY GATHERED SUGAR-PINE NUTS, HOW THE MAN USED TO SMOKE UNDER A TREE)

"Let's go bite some sugar pine nuts." "All right. Where's the hook?" All that the man packed on his shoulder was the hook, and the small hook also, and the woman just packs a pack basket, an openwork plate basket, a mashing club; she packs their outfit.

Then the man says: "I'll climb that tree that is loaded." Some [limbs] have ten [cones] in a bunch. Then, behold, once he will say: "Look. Let's sit down on the ground, let's make a camping ground." They finished the camp ground there by the river.

Then he says: "Now let me climb up." Then [the man] lashes the small hook to his forearm with twine. Then he leaned the climbing hook [against

<sup>84</sup> For káruk.

<sup>85</sup> Jepson: Nuts of the Sugar Pine, *Pinus lambertiana* Dougl.

"Tcô̄-ta tcîm'mì. Tcimi k'vân-vô̄-rûrâ'a. Kuhyé·vic 'ík vúra ku-hyú·nnicté·cik' Asaxvuhpíhní'tc." "Maník." Mé·kva tuvô̄-tûrâ'a. Mé·kva takuníhiyív: "'Asaxvuh-pihñí'tc 'ikxí·t·cun." Takunxus-tó·kxí·t·cùr. Yátik 'uríkkikha pa·á·pun tó·kyí·vic. Mé·kva takuníffikvana; papirícri'ík, káru po·navúnni·hvâ', káru po·xu-vúra'a. Va; kô̄kkáninày takuníffikvana'a. Vura pu'áfficti-hara pá'u's pa'ávansa'. Ká:n tupikrí'c pa'úsip'áffi. Tupihé'r pamu'uhramxáta.

the tree]. Then he says: "All right, let's go. I'm going to climb up. Ye [children and women] must holler, be sure and holler. Ye must holler to Old Man Turtle to bite off the sugar-pine nuts."<sup>86</sup> "All right," [the women and children say]. He always climbs up. They always holler: "Old Man Turtle, bite it off!" They think he bites it off. It makes a big noise when it hits the ground. They always pick them up in the brush, even though on the side hills, though in gulches. They are picking them up all over there. The man never touches the cones. He is just sitting down under the sugar-pine tree. He is smoking his big pipe.

The woman carries her big pack basket, and the little girls have little pack baskets. The boys pack no pack baskets, they just pack little network sacks<sup>87</sup> all full of sugar-pine nuts, old bags, they thought they might get pitchy.

When they finish picking them up, then they stack them [in the pack basket] like a heaped load, then they stand up with load on back, then they spill it out at their camping ground.

Then they singe the pitch off. Often they roast them at night. And they shell them. They shell them all night. They make the fires all round about [the camp-

Xas takuntámxu'. Táya:n vúra 'ikxáram xas takuntámxu'. Xas takuníffithvana'a 'Ibé·kxaram vura kuníffithvana'ti'. Pá'a:h takuníkyá·ppa. Vúra pu'ickváxi-

<sup>86</sup> In a story Old Man Turtle bit sugar-pine cone twigs to cut them, and this old expression is used of cutting off the cones.

<sup>87</sup> Of special small size, smaller than those carried by men.

crihtihàp. Vura patakunpíkya<sup>'</sup>r, kárixás kunic k'áxiceríhti'. Kunxuti': "Xay 'úmsip. Xay 'usák-rí·vhà pó·msíppaha<sup>'</sup>ak." Vúra kunlá·púnmútì pakó; kunikyá·vic yíθ ikxáram. Pattá:yha<sup>'</sup>k va;  
vura ká:n ká:kkum 'á·pun sù<sup>'</sup>  
takunlíccon'va va;<sup>'</sup>u:m pú'iváx-  
ráhē·cárà, 'im'yá·nkam. Xás ta-  
kuntámxu'. Hárí vura su<sup>'</sup> ta-  
kunlít·cur 'itrō·pasúppa', xas ta-  
kuntámxu'. Va;<sup>'</sup>u:m pu'iváx-  
rā·htihàrà.

Xas 'im'yá·nkam patusúppá·ha takunpávyi·hcip pamukunikrívra<sup>'</sup>a·m, takunpatfci<sup>'</sup>p pá'u<sup>"</sup>s. Kárixas patakunpávyi·hma pamukunikrívra<sup>'</sup>a·m, xas takunθív'rav, 'asippáraxak takunθív'rav. Takunlíccar 'ayíppa<sup>'</sup>n karu sah'u-  
sí·xáhar patakunθív'rav.' Iná:<sup>'</sup>m va;<sup>'</sup>árá·ras 'u:mkun kunf·ccá·nti  
pahíp, Va;<sup>'</sup>u:m 'ikpíhàn pamukún<sup>"</sup>s. Va;<sup>'</sup>u:m tcé·tc 'ár  
uyá·vahiti'. Kárixas takunsu-  
váxa<sup>'</sup>. 'Á·pun vá·ssak takùnθív.  
Patuθívrávahitiha<sup>'</sup>k va;<sup>'</sup> yáv  
'ukupé·vaxráhahiti'. Kárixas  
sipnú·kkan takunlí·vá·yràm'nì.

Patcimikunlávē·caha<sup>'</sup>ak, kari takunpíhtá·n'va. Kárixas 'ás·ic takunlíkyav. Xás takunpátnák-vára<sup>'</sup>a. Vura pu'áxxak, yíttca<sup>'</sup>tc patná·ktíháp, 'itcámmahite vúra pakunpátnákvrá·tì'. Pátta<sup>'</sup>y yítt-  
ta<sup>'</sup>tc 'umú·tkaraha<sup>'</sup>ak, mûvu<sup>'</sup> u-  
pitcró·ssé<sup>"</sup>e, va;<sup>'</sup> kunipítti pa'á-  
ra<sup>'</sup>a·r. Payé·m vúra tattcf·mitc  
pakunlá·púnmútì pá'u:<sup>'</sup>s kun-  
kupé·kyá·hitì'.

ing ground]. They never rest [when they are working]. When they get through, then they rest. They think: "The cone might get cold. It might get hard when it cools off." They know how many they can handle in one night. If there are lots, they bury them under the ground, so they won't get dry. Then on the next day they singe the pitch off of them. Sometimes they leave it in the ground five days, and then roast it. They do not get dry.

Then in the morning they go home, they pack the sugar-pine nuts along. Then when they get home they steam them, in a big bowl basket they steam them. They mix them with grape vine [leaves] and with sahusi-xahar [plant sp.] when they steam them. The Clear Creek people mix [their sugar-pine nuts] with pepperwood [leaves]. Their sugar-pine nuts taste strong. You don't eat so many! Then they dry them. They spread them on a blanket on the ground. When they have been steamed they dry nicely. Then they pour them inside a storage basket.

When they get ready to eat some, they take some out [of the storage basket]. Then they dish them out [into openwork plate baskets]. Then they crack them in their mouths [when they eat them]. They do not crack two at a time [in the mouth], one at a time they crack them. If he puts lots in his mouth at a time, his teeth will be crowded,

so the people say. Nowadays there are only a few [living] that know how to work the sugar-pine nuts.

7. Pahú·t    kunkupafuhíccahiti  
pe·hé'·r

(SMOKING BELIEFS)

A. Va;<sub>x</sub> kuníppé·nti tó·ksá·hvar  
po·hrá·m, to·mxáxxar va;<sub>x</sub> kári

(THEY SAY THAT IF ONE LAUGHS  
INTO A PIPE, IT CRACKS)

"Xáy íkcá·hvar pa·uhrá·m, xáy  
'ù;<sub>x</sub>m xáxxá'<sub>x</sub>r," va;<sub>x</sub> mit pakuni-  
pítthiha<sub>t</sub>. Puxxutihap kiri núksa'<sub>a</sub>,  
pakunihé·ratihá'<sub>a</sub>k, kunxuti xay  
umxáxxar po·hrá·m.

"Do not laugh in the pipe, it  
might crack," that is the way  
they used to say. They were  
careful not to laugh when they  
were smoking, they were afraid  
the pipe would crack.

B. Karu mit vura pu'ihe·ratihat  
'a<sub>l</sub> ve·hyárihar

(AND A PERSON NEVER SMOKED  
STANDING)

Va;<sub>x</sub> vura kitc mit pukupítthi-  
hapha<sub>t</sub>, pú'a<sub>l</sub> ve·hyárihar 'ihé-  
ratiha<sub>p</sub>. Va;<sub>x</sub> mit k'yunipítthiha<sub>t</sub>,  
pu'ára 'a<sub>l</sub> ve·hyárihar 'á·mtíha<sub>a</sub>,  
karu pu'avé·hyárihar 'ihé·ratihá-  
ia. Takunpí·ttca'<sub>a</sub>k, pa'a<sub>l</sub> ve·h-  
yárihar uhé·ráha'<sub>a</sub>k.<sup>88</sup>

They never smoked standing  
up. They say a person should  
never eat standing, and should  
never smoke standing. He gets  
out of luck if he smokes standing  
up.

C. Karu púmit 'ihé·ratihapha<sub>t</sub>,  
pakunítcná·hvutiha'jk

(NEC DECET FUMARE CACANDO)

Va;<sub>x</sub> mit k'yáru kunipítthiha<sub>t</sub>,  
pó·tcná·hvütiha'<sub>a</sub>k, pu'ár ihé·ratihá-  
ia, kumpí·ttca<sub>x</sub>kke'<sub>e</sub>c.

And they said also, that when  
a person is defecating, he must  
never smoke, he will have bad  
luck.

8. Pámítva kárixas kunihé·rá·n-  
hitihat'

(WHEN THEY LEARNED TO SMOKE)

Pa'avansáxxí·ttitcás 'u;<sub>x</sub>m vura  
pu'ihe·ratihapha<sub>n</sub>ik. Kunihé·n-  
ní·tevütihat nik mit 'u;<sub>x</sub>m víra.  
Paní·nnamite káriha<sub>x</sub>k tuhé·raha',

The young boys did not smoke.  
They played smoke, that was all.  
When a small boy smoked he  
used to get sick. They do not

<sup>88</sup> There is a similar superstition that a person is out of luck if he eats standing.

'ukuhōd'vō·tihaník. Va; kárixas vura kunihē·ratihàník, patakunyé·rípōi·nhà'ak.<sup>89</sup> Kárixas tákunxus: "Nu; takké·ttcas." Va; kári hā·ti yíθθa tufatavé·nná·nhà'.<sup>90</sup>

A. Pahú·t pámitva kári kinihē·ravá·tihat paxxí·tticas pakup-hákká·mha'ak<sup>90a</sup>

Taxxaravé·ttak<sup>91</sup> pámitva; kumá·ih u'áho'ot,<sup>92</sup> kinikyá·ttihat mit vura pakunkupe·hē·rahe;c pa·avansáxxi·ttiicas, paye·ripáx-vú·hsa káru vu·ra, pattú·ppitcas karih. Va; mit k'ari kó·vúra kunihē·rana·tiha' patakumpíppú·nava-ha'ak pámitva; kumpakúri·hvana·tiha'k, ká·kum vura 'uhnam-tunvé·tticas mit kunihē·ratihá·karu ká·ku mit 'ikxurika'úhra'sm.

9. Pahú·t pehē·raha kunkupavie-tánni·nuvahitihaník

Pa'ara;r tuvictaraha;k pehē·raha', 'iccaha kunic 'úxrä·hti', vura puffá·t kuphē·cha·ra. Vura tuvictar pehē·raha'.

Pava; kuni·pitti 'ára;r pu'ihé·raha victá·ntihap puxxwítc, púa;

smoke until their throats get husky. Then they think: "We are already big boys." That is the time when one of them might already be made fatavennan.

(HOW THEY FORCED CHILDREN TO SMOKE AT THE GHOST DANCE)

Long ago when that kind of dance was going around, they made the boys and girls smoke, just little ones yet. They all smoked when they rested after a song; some smoked little [Indian] pipes, and some cigarettes.

(HOW THEY USED TO GET THE TOBACCO HABIT)

When an Indian has an appetite for tobacco it is just like he wants to drink water, he can not do anything. He just has an appetite for tobacco.

When some people say that the Indians do not get the tobacco

<sup>89</sup> Lit. when they become pubescent.

<sup>90</sup> Sometimes in former times even a 14-year-old boy was instructed and became fatavennan, although usually he was made helper the first year and fatavennan the following year. It was an old saying of a boy who is becoming pubescent: "He might already be made fatavennan."

<sup>90a</sup> See account of how they smoked tobacco at the ghost dance, p. 253.

<sup>91</sup> This does not indicate as remote a time in the past as pi'é'ep.

<sup>92</sup> Referring to the ghost dance, which spread to the Karuk from up the river and from Scott Valley.

'ifhařa.<sup>93</sup> Pukaru vura va; 'ik-rú'ntihap pe'kmahátra:m xas ik kunihé're'e, 'ínná:k vura pata-kunihér patakunpámva'r. Vura pu'i'hé'raháhí'ppux 'ikré'p, 'asik-tává'nsa káru vura pa'émca'.

habit, it is not right. They can not even wait to smoke in the sweathouse, they smoke in the living house after meals. They can not stay without tobacco, including women when they are doctors.

10. Pahú't vura pukupítthaphanik, puffá't vura kumappíric 'í·cá·ntíhaphanik pamukunží-hé'raha'

Pánnu;kuma'árá·rás vura purafá't vura 'í·cá·ntíhaphamukunží-hé'raha', vura 'u:m 'ihé'raha kitckunihérati'.<sup>94</sup>

A. Pahú't vura pukupítthaphanik 'axθaháma:n kumá'i·nk'yá vura pu'i·cá·ntíhaphanik pehé'-raha'

Pa'apxantí:te va; kuniptti yí; va'árá·ras va; kó; kunihérati' 'axθaháma:n kumá'i·nk'yapu<sup>95</sup> va; pehé'raha kuni·ccá'nti', va; kunihérati'. Nu; vura púva; 'á·pún-mütihip páva; ko'o:k.

(HOW THEY NEVER MIXED ANY OTHER KIND OF PLANT WITH THEIR TOBACCO)

Our kind of Indians never mixed anything with their tobacco, they smoked their smoking tobacco straight.<sup>94</sup>

(THEY NEVER MIXED BURNED FRESH-WATER MUSSEL SHELLS WITH THE TOBACCO)

The White people say that the kind that far-off Indians smoke is burned fresh-water mussel shells mixed with tobacco. We knew nothing about that kind.

<sup>93</sup> The older Indians emphatically deny Mrs. Thompson's statement: "My people never let the tobacco habit get the better of them as they can go all day without smoking or quit smoking for several days at a time and never complain in the least" (op. cit., p. 37). Many Indians in primitive times would get a strong craving and impatience for tobacco, which had become a habit with them. But the old-time Indians never smoked but the merest fraction of the day, disapproved even of the smoking of men as old as in their twenties, and regarded the modern boy and girl cigarette fiend with disgust, as they do many White man excesses. The early Karuk could deny themselves smoking or quit smoking altogether with much more fortitude than the average White man can. Their daily life schooled them to all kinds of self-denial and hardship.

<sup>94</sup> The Karuk claim that they never smoked Black Manzanita or mixed deer grease or sucker's liver with their tobacco. They never "enriched" their tobacco by moistening it with grease.

<sup>95</sup> Or 'axθahamánží·nk'yá'.

11. Pahú·t va;<sub>2</sub> vura kitc hárí pakunkupítiháñik, pa'uhíppi kuní·cá·ntíhaník pamukunihé·raha'

(HOW THEY NEVER MIXED ANYTHING EXCEPT SOMETIMES TOBACCO STEMS WITH THEIR TOBACCO)

Hárí vúra va;<sub>2</sub> kuní·cá·ntí pa'uhíppi karu pe·hé·raha'. Va;<sub>2</sub> karu vúra kunihé·rati patata-kuní·cáraha'<sup>a</sup>k. Picci;<sub>2</sub>p takunik-pákpak yuhírimú'<sup>a</sup>k.<sup>96</sup> Xas takuníkceur 'iknamá'anammahatcmú'<sup>a</sup>k, pa'uhíppi'. Xas va;<sub>2</sub> takuní·ccar pe·hé·rahahák. Tó·kxúkkahiti pe·hé·raha'. Takuníaksá·tariv pa'uhíppi pe·hé·rahahák. Va;<sub>2</sub> xas to'kú·pha pu'ikpihanhara pe·hé·raha', va;<sub>2</sub> 'u;<sub>2</sub>m pu'imyú·mníthiáp.

Sometimes they mix the stems and the [leaf] tobacco. They smoke it mixed. First they cut them up with a knife. Then they pound them with the little pestle, the stems. Then they mix it with the tobacco. The tobacco is already crumbled. They add the stems to the tobacco. It turns out then a mild tobacco; they do not faint away.

A. Pahú·t vúra pukupítihaphaník pu'ihé·rátihaphaník pa'uhípfi·ccariippux

(HOW THEY NEVER USED TO SMOKE THE STEMS UNMIXED)

Pa'uhipihmúnanaxite va;<sub>2</sub> 'u;<sub>2</sub>m vura pu'ihé·rátiháp, vura pe·hé·raha patakuní·cáraha'<sup>a</sup>k karixas vura kuní·hérati pa'uhíppi'. Kúna vura 'u;<sub>2</sub>m va;<sub>2</sub> ta;y kunírhru·vtí·rú·vtí·.

They do not smoke the stems unmixed, only when they mix them with [leaf] tobacco do they smoke the stems. But they use them for lots of things.

'f'm kunmútpi·θvùti', pa'ánnav takuníkyá·ha'<sup>a</sup>k, pa'ára to'kkuhá'<sup>a</sup>k, pa'uhíppi va;<sub>2</sub> kuníhrú·vtí·kuní·akkikihti páttú·ycip karu vura pe·θívθá·nné'<sup>a</sup>n.

They throw them [the pounded up stems] about, when making [steaming] medicine. When somebody is sick, it is the tobacco stems that they use. They feed the mountains and the world.

Pakuní·akkunvuti karu vura va;<sub>2</sub> kuníhrú·vtí·. Papux'ítc 'uxxútiha'<sup>a</sup>k pa'akúnva'<sup>a</sup>n: "Kiri pú·fítc ní·kký·ar," 'itahará·n vúr'i·hé·rah utayvárattí', pa'uhíppi', yíθθa súppa'<sup>a</sup>, páttú·ycip 'u'ák-kíhváná·ti'. 'Itahará·n yíθθa súppa;<sub>2</sub> 'ihé·rah utayvárattí'.

And when they go hunting they use them, too. When the hunter wants hard: "May I kill a deer," he spills tobacco around ten times, the stems, in one day. He feeds the mountains. Ten times in one day he spills them around.

<sup>96</sup> Into pieces  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch, more or less, in length.

B. Pahú·t hā·ri kun?ákkihtihanik  
po·hē·re;c pa'araraká·nnimitc  
pa'í·n takinipmahvákkirá·ha'sk

Hā·ri va; takun?ákki pakká·nnimitc pa'ára'sr pa'uhipi'ihé·raha',  
va; vura tuhé·r. Hā·ri pihní·ttc  
teite ká;n tu'ú·m pa'akaruvúra  
mukrívra'a·m. Va; pa'uhippi ta-  
kun?ákki', pa vura ká·nnimitc pihní·ttcítcha'sk, papúffà;thà;k müspuk,  
va; pa'uhipi'ihé·raha takun?ákki va; pó·hē·re;c. 'U:m  
xas tó·ktcùr, xas va; tuhé·r. Hā·ri víra va; takun?ákki po·psá·nvé;c.  
Kúna payá·s'ára paká;n tu'ú:mmáha'a·k, paya's'ara-  
ra'ávansa', va; 'u:m kun?ákkihti  
pe·hē·tahayé;pca'.

12. Pahú·t hā·ri vura kó·k fá·tcas  
pakunihé·rati pu'ihé·raha vura  
kítchara

Wínthu'árá·ras kunihé·rahiti-  
haniik: bóloy' (*Arctostaphylos pa-  
tula* Greene, Black Manzanita),  
xówtchus (*Eriodictyon californi-  
cum* Greene, Palo Santo), nó·pun  
ló'l' (*Ramona humilis* Greene,  
Creeping Sage), ló·lfcat (*Phora-  
dendron villosum* Nutt., Common  
Mistletoe), gólon' (*Balsamiphyza  
deltae* Nutt., Wild Sunflower),  
búlidum' (*Washingtonia nuda*  
Torr. C. and R.), pénelmi' *Quer-  
cus kelloggii* Newb., California  
Black Oak), karu thérp'a; pahú·t  
kuma'árá·ras vura purafá·t fóú-  
wetchi'kuna vúra.

A. Pahú·t kícvu:f<sup>96a</sup> kunkupe-  
hé·rati'<sup>97</sup>

'Uhrá;mú·k mit pakunihé·rati-  
hat, payé·m 'u:m vur ikxúrik

(HOW THEY SOMETIMES GAVE TO-  
BACCO STEMS TO SMOKE TO A  
POOR PERSON WHO CAME VISIT-  
ING)

Sometimes they give stem to-  
bacco to a poor person, for him  
to smoke. Sometimes an old man  
comes there to somebody's house.  
It is tobacco stems that they give.  
When it is a poor old man, when  
he has no money, they give stem  
tobacco for him to smoke. He  
then pounds it up, then he smokes  
it. Or sometimes they give him  
some to take home. But when a  
sick person comes there, a rich  
man, they give him good tobacco.

(HOW THEY SOMETIMES SMOKE  
SOME LITTLE THINGS BESIDES  
TOBACCO)

The Wintu Indians smoked  
Black Manzanita, Palo Santo,  
Creeping Sage, Common Mistle-  
toe, Wild Sunflower, *Washingtonia  
nuda*, California Black Oak, and  
thérp'a, but our people smoked  
none of these except the Indian  
Celery.

(HOW THEY SMOKE INDIAN  
CELERY)<sup>96a</sup>

It was with a tobacco pipe  
that they used to smoke it.

<sup>96a</sup> *Leptotaenia californica* Nuttall.

<sup>97</sup> For chewing Indian Celery root see p. 277.

takuníhrú'vti'. Picci:p takun-vupápkak pakícvu<sup>u</sup>f, xas 'uh-rá:mak takunmáhya<sup>a</sup>n, xas va:takun?á:hka'. Va: vura kunkupe'hé:rahiti pehé:raha kunkupe'hé:rahiti'. Hár'i 'ikxurár kícvu<sup>u</sup>f kunihé:rati', pa'aná:i'i. Hár'i vura va: vura pakun?ú:pputí pakícvu<sup>u</sup>f, i'nná:k vur utá:y-hiti'. Va: kári takunihé:er, pa'axvá:k takunkukúha<sup>a</sup>k, papuyáv 'ip-mahó:nkō:nnatihapha<sup>a</sup>k. 'Im-xaθáyav patakunihé:er, pa'ámku<sup>u</sup>f. 'Asiktává:nsa karu vura kunihé:rati karu vura 'ávansaš. 'Án'nav.

### B. Pahú:t mit kunihé:nní:tcvu-tihat sanpíric

Hár'i mit sa:n kuntá:ftihá<sup>88</sup>: sanpíric. Viri va: kuniθxúpparati paxxá:ric, va: 'u:m xar utá:y-hiti', va: kunipítti'. Páva: pás-sa:n 'uθxúpparahitiha<sup>a</sup>k, tírihca kuntá:fti', viri va: kuniθxúpparati passípnú:k. Hár'i xá:t 'iccaha 'u'írihk'y'u", pusu? 'iccaha 'ú:mvutihara pasipnú:kkan su? pássa:n 'uθxúpparahitiha<sup>a</sup>k.

Tú:ppitcas kuntá:fti po'xrá:kunímkyá:nvutiha<sup>a</sup>k, viri va:ká:n su? kunkíccapti po'xrá:h. Puxxára tā:rahithap po'xrá:h. Va: kunkíccápáratí po'xrá:pim-ná:ni va: pakunímkyá:nvuti'. Sa:n tákuntaf. Xas va: takunkíccapar po'xrá:h. Xas 'áttim-ná:vák takuníurúrá:mníhvá po'x-

They are doing so with paper now. First they pound up the Indian Celery [root], then they put it in the pipe, then they light it. They smoke it like they do tobacco. Sometimes they smoke [a dry piece of] Indian Celery [root], in the nighttime, for medicine. They dig the Indian Celery any time, they store it in the living house. They smoke it when they have a headache, when they do not feel well. It smells good when they smoke it, the smoke does. Women smoke it as well as men. It is medicine.

### (HOW THEY USED TO PLAY-SMOKE MAPLE LEAVES)

Sometimes they used to pin maple leaves together, maple leaves. They cover shelled acorns with it. They keep longer that way, so they say. When they covered them with leaves, they pinned together wide sheets. They covered the storage baskets with them. And if perchance water dripped on them, the water does not enter inside the storage baskets, when covered with maple leaves.

They pin them together into small sheets for tying up berries, they tie berries up in them. They never used to keep berries long. They tie the berries in them in the summertime when they are picking them. They pin maple leaves together. Then they tie the berries up in them. Then

<sup>88</sup> The leaves were pinned together with their own stems to make large paperlike sheets.

pátticip̄, mukun̄íkrívra:m kú:k takunpá:ttivà. Pakicapatunv̄-rahkíccapsa'. Xas va: takuntticas va: 'u:m paxxi:tticas mukun̄íuxra'.

Karu hár̄i áttimnavak takuntáfsku: pássa'a:n. Pasururúpri-nák takun̄íkyurúpri-hvà pamúpti:km̄'k pappíric, 'atimnamsú:kam 'uvarári-hvà pássa'a:n. Sú:kam takuntáfsku". Va: vura kó:vúra su? takunpá:thvā nnám'nì. Va: 'u:m pu:ihrú:ptihára. Xás va: ká:n takuni:váyrá:mnihva pappúriθ, patakunímkyá:nyaha'a:k.

Va: kári pakuntápkú:ppúti vé:kyav picyavpí:c pássa'a:n, pató:mtup̄, pató:mva:y. Máruk kunítrá:tti', xas takunpí:p: "Maruk vura to:mtupúvra:n pássa'a:n." Kuní:vá:stí pasan-íppa', kunxuti kir úvrarunni pappíric. Va: kari tasákri:v pássa'a:n, pató:mtup̄. Hár̄i vura 'axakhárinay 'utá:yhiti', hár̄i 'axakhárinay vúra kuníhrú:vtí'.

Karu hár̄i mit vura kunihé:n-ní:tcvútihàt pa'avansáxxi:tticas pasanpíric, pasanpiric:íváxra'. Pa'avansáxxi:tticas pa'ínná:k takunmaha:k san:íváxra', va: mit kuhé:nní:tcvutihat, tí:km̄'k mit takuníkxúkxu:k pássa'a:n. Ká:kku mit pa'avansáxxi:tticas kunikyá:vanna:tihat 'uhnamtunv̄:etc, va: vura xavictunv̄:tticas kunikfutrá:θunatihat su? 'ahup-mū:k. Xas va: ká:n su? takunmáhya:a:n papiric:íváxra', xas va: takunihé:r, pa'avansas pakuni:hé:nní:tcvúti'.

they put the bundles of berries in a pack basket. Then they pack them, they pack them to their house. The smallest bundles are for the children.

And sometimes they pin the maple leaves to an openwork pack basket. They stick the leaves in the holes by means of the stems, the leaves hang on the inside of the pack basket. They pin them inside. They line the whole inside. It does not leak. Then they spill huckleberries into it, when they are picking them.

It is in the fall when they like to pick the maple leaves, when they are getting ripe, when they are turning yellow. They look upslope and then they say: "The maple leaves are getting ripe up-slope." They shake the maple tree, so the leaves fall down. The maple leaves are hard, when they get ripe. Sometimes the maple leaves are kept for two years, sometimes they use them after two years.

And sometimes the boys used to smoke in fun the maple leaves, the dry maple leaves. The boys when they saw dry maple leaves in the house, smoked them in play, crumbling up the leaves with their hands. Some boys used to make little pipes, they used to ram out the inside of little arrowwood sticks, using a stick. Then they put in the dry leaves, then they smoke, mocking the men with their play-smoking.

C. Pahú't púmitva 'ihé·ratihaphat (HOW THEY NEVER SMOKED MIS-  
pa'aná·te?úhié<sup>99</sup> TLETOE)

Yív fáttak va'árā·rás va:  
'ata ník 'u:mkuñ vúra kunihé·ratí  
'aná·te?úhié, pánnu:kuma'árā·rás  
vura púva:kó:k 'ihérátiháp. Nu:  
va:nukupé·θvúyá·nnáhítí 'aná·te?  
úhié. Xanó:ppak 'u'ífti', xan-  
púttipak hárí. Vura pura fá:t  
kiníhrú:vtihárá, 'aná·te?úhié.  
Man 'ata vura ník píkváh.

D. Pahú't mit 'iθá:n uxússa'st  
kiri va:nikyú:pha 'Ahó:yá:m'-  
matc

'Ahó:yá:m'matc<sup>1</sup> mit úθvú:y-  
tíhá:t. Ka:timlín mit 'ukré'et,  
ka:timlín'ára:t mit. Xúsipux mit  
kunmá:htihá:t, pi'é'ep, mit kunspé-  
ntihát va:kó:k 'amáyav, va:  
kó:k ve'hé:r 'amáyav, kuníppé:n-  
tihát mit, musmús?a'af. Vura mit  
'uvúra:yvútihá:t, 'umumahurá:y-  
vútihát mit vúra. Xas vo'áppiv.  
Xas va:ká:n ká:kkum ûmmáh. 'Uxxus:  
"Kúníc 'amáyav umússahiti".  
Ta'íttam vo'íffik'yahé'en. 'Uxxus:  
"Arare:hérah vur umússahiti",  
va:kó:kúníc umússahiti." Kar-  
rixas vo'hé:r. Va:vur umúss-  
sahiti', arare:hé:raha vur umúss-  
sahiti', kuna vura pu'ihéraha  
'ákkatiha:ra, vievan'áran kitc  
'u'ákkati'.

Some kind of far people may have smoked mistletoe, but our kind of people never did smoke that kind. We call it crow seed. It grows on Black Oak, and sometimes on the Maul Oak. It is not used for anything, the mistletoe. I guess there is a story of it.

AHOYAMMATIC'S EXPERIMENT

Ahoyammatic was his name. He lived at Katimin, he was a Katimin Indian. They fooled him, long ago; they told him that that kind tasted good, that it tasted good to smoke, they told him, cow dung. He was just going around, he was bumming around. Then he looked for it; he looked for some that was dry. Then he found some there. He thought: "It looks like it tastes good." Then he picked it up. He thought: "It looks like Indian tobacco, it looks like that kind." Then he smoked it. It looked like it, it looked like Indian tobacco, but it did not taste like it; it tasted merely like entrails.

<sup>99</sup> This text was given when told that the Wintu and Chimariko smoked mistletoe when short of tobacco. Cp.: "The oak mistletoe was occasionally smoked by these [Chimariko] Indians in lieu of tobacco," Powers, op. cit., p. 93. "An oak mistletoe (*Phoradendron*); smoked by the Chimariko as a substitute for tobacco. Indian name unknown." Ibid., p. 430. The Karuk claim that they were never short of tobacco, hence did not resort to the trashy herbs smoked by tribes to the south of them.

<sup>1</sup> Mg. good walker.

XI. Pahú·t mit kunkupíttihat  
'ihé·raha mit kun?á·mtihač

(HOW THEY USED TO EAT TOBACCO)

Há·ri vura yíθθa pa'ára; r vo·ku·pítti', 'ihé·rah o'ammí·tevúti'<sup>1</sup>, vura pu'á·mtihaþ. Pamuxé·hvá·s-sák to·mú·trip pehé·raha', va;kari 'apmá;ñ tumutvára<sup>a</sup>, kunic 'u'á·mti', káruma vura pu'á·mti-hára. Ká;ñ vúra 'á·pun 'úkri; 'upakurí·hvúti'. Tcatik vura pâ·npay kunic tcim upúffá·thé<sup>e</sup>c. Karixas 'axmay ik vura tu'é·θri-cùk pamu'úhra<sup>a</sup>m.<sup>2</sup> Phehé·raha tí·k'an tó·yvá·yrámñi, 'atrú·p tóy·vá·yrámñi pehé·ráhá'. Kunic 'umutvára·tì<sup>3</sup> pehé·raha'. Tcé·m-yátcva vura pakunic 'umutvára·tì'. Kunic 'usink'á·nvuti'.

'Upyehrúppanati vu rá. 'Á·kár umutkírihvuti pehé·raha'. Kunic tuyúnyú·nhá', kunic teupúffá·t he<sup>e</sup>c.<sup>4</sup> Kitaxríhar 'umáharati'. 'Upθavit.curuvá·nnátì há·fi, 'ux-xuti': "Ni'ipámva<sup>a</sup>n."

Pavura kó·vúra 'ukupavé·náhi-tì'. 'Ikmahätra; m há·ri vato-kú·phà, tu'ururíccukva papihñí·t-teitcas mukun'úhra<sup>a</sup>m. Tákun-?ay, puffa;t vura 'ipíttiháþ, tákun-?ay. To·ptáktá·kpa'.<sup>5</sup> Há·ri tec-tik vura takun?axaytcákkič, xay

Sometimes an Indian does this way, just makes believe eat tobacco, he does not really eat it. He takes tobacco out of his pipe sack, and feeds it into his mouth, it is like he is eating it, but he does not eat it. He sits there on the ground, he sings. Then after a while it is as if he faints. Then he takes out his pipe. Then he spills tobacco in his hand, into his palm he spills it. He acts like he is feeding tobacco into his mouth. Every little while he acts like he is feeding it into his mouth. He acts as if he swallows it.

He just spits it out. He throws tobacco on the fire, too. He acts kind of crazy, he acts as if he is about to faint. He is mocking the Kitaxrihars. He is trying to bite himself at times, he thinks: "Let me eat my own meat."

He does all kinds of things. In the sweathouse he sometimes has his fainting spell. He takes the old men's pipes out [of their pipe sacks]. They are afraid of him, they never say anything [to him], they are afraid of him. He

<sup>1</sup> He does this in the sweathouse, or anywhere.

<sup>2</sup> Out of the pipe sack.

<sup>3</sup> With repeated motions of his hand toward his mouth, as if shoveling it in.

<sup>4</sup> Or: tcim upúffá·thé<sup>e</sup>c.

<sup>5</sup> Throws his arms and legs and squirms with his trunk. Suck doctors also go through such motions.

'ú:<sup>θ</sup> 'u'árihk<sup>y</sup>ař. Kitaxřihar kūnic. Vúra 'u:<sup>m</sup> vo'kupavé'nnā-hítì'.

Pav o'kupíttiha:k pa'ávansa', puxay 'ikví'thítihāra. Vur o-'asímtcā'kti 'ukvithú'nnicti kitc vura Pakitaxřihar va; vura kitc po'kvithú'nnicti'. Hå'ri va; 'ukvithú'nnicti Kitaxrihara'ín takun?ávaruk. Hå'ri kunve'nafípk<sup>y</sup>o·ti 'iθé·kxàràm 'ík.

Pássay mit vo'kupíttihañik, 'i-hé·rah u'á·mtíhañik. Vura vo'kupave'nahí'tcvütlhàt.

jerks his body around. Sometimes they have to hold him so he will not jump in the river. He is like a Kitaxrihar. He is just doing that.

The way that man does is he never sleeps. It is that he shuts his eyes, and is just dreaming about him, is dreaming about that Kitaxrihar. Sometimes he dreams that the Kitaxrihar comes and eats him up. Sometimes they have to say formulas over him all night.

Passay used to do that way, used to eat tobacco. He used to make believe that way.

XII. Pahú:t pámitvá pukupítti-hapha<sup>t</sup>, púmit 'ihé·raha máhyá·nnáti·hapha<sup>t</sup>, papu'ávē·cap fá:t 'í:n pá'u'u:p

Púva<sup>;</sup> ká:n 'ihé·raha mahyá·nnáti·hap paká:n pa'arará'u:p 'utá·yhití', pavákkay su? puváramnihe·caña, pa'apxantí·tc kun-kupítti'.

Yufivmatnakvánna<sup>'atc</sup>, karu hárí pahípsa<sup>'an</sup>, va<sup>;</sup> pakunmáhyá·nnati su?. Va<sup>;</sup> vura su? kumáhyá·nnati' sipnu·kkíθak, karu 'ahup?ássipak. Pura fá:t vúra su? váràmnihitaña. 'Ikpihan pay yufivmatnakvánna<sup>'atc</sup>.

Paffúrax takunimθáttap 'ahuptínnihitecák, hárí va<sup>;</sup> yufivmatnakvanatescá:n su? takunimθát-tapkárariý, va<sup>;</sup> 'u:m teé·tc uváxrá·hti', pura fá:t vura 'í:n 'á·mtíhap.

(TOBACCO NEVER USED AS AN INSECTIFUGE)

They never put tobacco in where they are storing things to keep the bugs away, like the white people do.

It is wormwood, and sometimes pepperwood, that they put in that way. They put it in a treasure basket or an Indian trunk. Nothing goes in there. That wormwood is strong.

When they lash a woodpecker scalp to a little flat stick, sometimes they lash wormwood leaves in under, then it dries quickly, nothing eats it.

XIII. Pakó·vúra kumakkúha (TOBACCO GOOD FOR VARIOUS  
'uyavhitihanik pehé·raha' AILMENTS)

1. Pahú·t mit kunkupé·cnápkö·  
hitihat pehé·raha', patakun-  
píkní·vravaha'²k (HOW THEY USED TO PUT TOBACCO  
ON WHEN THEY GOT HURT)

Pahá·ri 'árá·r tupíkní·vravava-  
ha'²k, karu vura po·kpákkahiti-  
ha'²k, va; kari takuníená·pkà  
'ihé·raha', paká·n 'ukpákkahítì-  
hà'²k.

'Atrú·ppan tó·yvá·yrám'nì pe-  
hé·raha', xé·hvá·ssak tó·yvá·yrí-  
cùk. Xas tuve·nafípk'yú·: "Hú·k-  
ka hinupa i;m 'Akθípnamkitaxí-  
har'?¹ 'Ata fá·t Yá·s?ára te·p-  
tassé·iy.² 'Ata fá·t Yá·s?ára  
ká·rim te·xú·shúní. Tcimi  
nupo·nyá·rihi'. Teu má·pay."  
Xas tumútpí·θvùtì. Hár ufum-  
púhpí·θvùtì. Karu hár·ti umút-  
pí·θvùtì. Ká·kkúmitc, tcí·mmite  
vura po·mutpí·θvùtì. Xas va;  
'úppas tuyú·hka'. Karixas va;  
tó·sna·pkà pe·kpákkak. Hár·ti  
takunkíccéap. Hár·ti xas vura  
va; puva; 'ihýárihára, kó·va 'imfir  
pehé·raha'. Karu hár·ti pa'úppas³  
vura kite takunyú·hkuri pe·kpá-  
kak, pehé·raha'úppa;.

When somebody gets hurt, or  
cut, then they put on tobacco  
where he got cut.

One spills the tobacco on his  
palm, out of the pipe sack he  
spills it. Then he prays over it:  
"Where art thou, Kitaxrihar of  
Axθípna'²m. Perhaps thou hast  
punished Human. Perhaps thou  
didst something bad to Human.  
May we make thee propitious.  
Take this!" Then he throws it.  
Or sometimes he blows it [off his  
palm]. And sometimes he is  
throwing it. Only a part of it,  
a little of it he throws. Then he  
spits on it. And then he puts  
it on the cut. Sometimes they  
tie it on. Sometimes then he  
can not stand it, the tobacco is  
so hot. And sometimes they just  
spit the juice on the cut, the  
tobacco juice.

<sup>1</sup> Name of a former flat situated toward the river from Ikmahatc-ramiccip sweathouse, which was washed away by the river about 1895. It was the shinny ground of Katimin rancheria. The Kitaxrihar addressed lived on that flat, and there is a formula addressed to him for bruises received in shinny.

<sup>2</sup> Implying that if the Kitaxrihar caused the cut or bruise as punishment or through meanness, he can also heal it.

<sup>3</sup> Lit. the spittle.

2. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·cnápkó·  
hitihat pehē·raha 'â·v, pavúha  
kunimfírahitiha'ák

Pavúhak 'umfírahitiha'ák, xas  
va; 'ihé·raha 'ásxay takuníkyav,  
xás va; takuníná·pka ðankð·rák,<sup>5</sup>  
píccí;p 'imfir takuníkyav pa'as,  
xas pavúhak 'imfírahitihan<sup>6</sup> va;  
ká;n tu'avhíttaf, va; vura tó·k·  
ví·tha ká;n.

3. Pahú·t mit kunkupafumpúh-  
ká·nnatihat pehē·rahá·mku;f  
tí;v su?, pa'aráttá·nva takun-  
ké·nnaha;k tí;v

Va; mit kunkupíttihat pi'é'e·p,  
patí;v 'aráttá·nva to'kké·nnáha'ák,  
xas yíθθa u:m vura tuhé'e·r, xas  
va; pa'aráttá·nva to'kké·nnáha'ák.  
Xas va; tufumpúhka;n tí;v su?.  
Tupíck'y'i'n, karixas to'ppé·θtúpa;  
pamu'úhra'a·m. Tcé·myátcvá vura  
po'pē·θrúppánáti' karixas va; tu-  
fumpúhka;n pehē·rahá·mku;f tí;v  
su?. Xas va; kumaxánnahicite  
tu'arári'hk'yánhá pattí;v 'imfíra-  
hitihan.<sup>7</sup>

Va; 'u:m vur 'akáy vúrava  
tufumpúhka;n tí;v. Karu vura  
pa'í·nná·k 'é·m ukré·ha'ák, va;  
'í'n takunfumpúhka'n, 'ayu'á·tc  
'u:m uhé·rátí'.

(HOW THEY USED TO PUT TOBACCO  
ON THE FACE WHEN THEY HAD  
THE TOOTHACHE)

When a tooth aches, they wet tobacco, they put it on a hot application rock. They make the rock hot first, then the one that has the toothache lays his face on the rock. He goes to sleep there that way.

(HOW THEY USED TO BLOW TOBACCO  
SMOKE IN THE EAR WHEN THEY  
HAD THE EARACHE)

The way that they used to do formerly was, whenever the pain jerks in the ear, then one smokes, whenever the pain jerks there. Then he blows it into his ear. He smacks in, then he takes his pipe out of his mouth. Every once in a while he takes the pipe out of his mouth again, then he blows the smoke in the ear. Then the one that has the earache always gets well in a little while.

Anybody blows it into the ear. If there is a suck doctor in the house, she blows it in, for she smokes.

<sup>5</sup> Ðankð·r, described as "the Indian hot water bottle." A flat rock, 5 to 10 inches diameter, kept in the house, and heated and applied to the body for cold limbs or the allaying of pain.

<sup>6</sup> Lit. who is hot at the tooth.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. who is hot at the ear.

XIV. Pa'ē·mca pahú·t kunku-  
pe'hrō·hiti pehē·raha'

(HOW THE SUCK DOCTORS USE  
TOBACCO)

1. Pahú·t pámitva kunkupítti  
pa'ē·mca', píccí:p kunihé·rati',  
karixas takunpáttumka'

(HOW THE SUCK DOCTORS DO,  
HOW THEY SMOKE BEFORE  
SUCCING)

Pa'ē·mca karu vura va;  
paku-níshru·vtihanič pehē·rahá·mku<sup>u</sup>f.  
Picce'i·tc takunihé·r xasik pak-  
unpáttumke'<sup>c</sup>. Va;<sup>u</sup>m vura  
'apmá·n pehē·rahá·mku<sup>f</sup> kún·ák-  
kati', va;  
kunkupá·ā·pùnmáhiči  
pa'ararátá·n'va pehē·rahá·mku<sup>f</sup>  
mú·k pakunθáyùnkívti'. Yakún  
kunipítti 'í·m kún·arámsi·prívti  
pa'aráttá·n'vá, 'atcví·v kunic ku-  
níxíppi·θvuti 'í·kkvam pa'arát-  
tá·n'vá. Viri va;  
há·ri yíθea takuníkxi·pkvá'. Va;  
vura kitc kumakkúha pakunkupakúhiha-  
nič, pa'aráttá·nva kunké·nnati-  
hañik. Purafá·t vura kumakkúha  
kuhítihaphanič vuhal tápaxn  
vura pu'imfírhiti haphanič. Kar  
iøvá·y vura puxxwá·tihaphanič.<sup>1</sup>  
Xas, pá'u·mkun vura mukun-  
purá·n vaxús lu<sup>u</sup>m,<sup>2</sup> va;  
vura kún·arárl·hkyanhitihanič.

Va;  
kumá·í'i pa'ē·mca kún·á-  
rā·rahitihañik, va;  
kunθayúnkí·nnatihañik, 'ihé·rahá·mku<sup>f</sup>  
mú·k. 'Apmá·n vura pehē·rahá·mku<sup>f</sup>  
kunpú·hti'. Karixas takunpáttumka'. Xas va;  
mit vúra pamukun·ané·ci:p  
pehē·raha'. Va;<sup>u</sup>m vura puxwítcé·ci:p  
kuníshru·vtihanič. Kunic vura kún-  
xútihañik va;  
panu'ararahitfhki-  
rihti' pehē·raha'.

The suck doctresses, too, used tobacco smoke. They first smoke before they suck. They have to taste tobacco smoke in the mouth. That is the only way that they know the pains. With tobacco smoke they suck the pains out. They say the pain comes from outside, the pains fly around outside. Then sometimes they fly on anybody. That was all the sickness that they used to have, when pains jerked. They never even had toothache. And they never had consumption. And they used to doctor each other, they used to get well.

That is what they had the suck doctors for, they suck off of anybody by means of tobacco smoke. They hold the tobacco smoke in the mouth. Then they suck. That was their best medicine, tobacco. They used it more than anything. They thought that was what they lived by, smoking tobacco.

<sup>1</sup> Lit. the heart gets rotten.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. xús 'ip nu'ú·mmutihai, we doctored him.

Pa'asiktáva;<sup>n</sup> tu'émha'<sup>a</sup>k 'ik-maháteram 'itaharé'kxàràm 'u'ihtí'. Kó'mahite tukó'ha pó'ihtí hâ'ti. Víri va; kuma'íffuθ 'itnō-pe'kxànnámítc vura kite po'ihtí'. Kúna vúra paháriva tu'iha'<sup>a</sup>k, 'itnō-pe'kxànnámítc vura kite u'ihtí', pavura tapá'npayhá'<sup>a</sup>k.

Kó'vúr o'hramxárahsa pa'ẽ'myé'pca'. Pa'ára kunpatúmkó'ti-ha'<sup>a</sup>k tce'myátceva kunpihé'ratí', va; 'u:mkuñ tce'mya;tc kunθayúnkínnatí pa'aráttan'vá. Nanítta;t mit 'u:m vura mit 'ip-cú'nkInatic pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m,<sup>3</sup> hõ'y 'if 'ata 'é'm yá'hañik.<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Pahú't pa'ẽ'm 'ukupapímyá·hvahitihat      pehē'rahá'mku;<sup>f</sup> po'ihtihá'<sup>a</sup>k, pakunpi'níknik-vana·tiha'<sup>a</sup>k.

Hâ'ti pa'ẽ'm po'ihtíha;<sup>k</sup> 'ik-maháteram, pakunpi'níknikvana·tiha'<sup>a</sup>k,<sup>5</sup> 'apmá;nmú'k 'upím-yá·hvùtì', kírì sú? pehē'rahá'mku;<sup>f</sup> pamúpmánnak sú?. Kir uvíctar pe'hé'raha', pataxánnahicitcha'<sup>a</sup>k kir uvícta po'hé'rati-he'<sup>e</sup>c. Va; 'ukpihanhikkírtti' pe'hé'rahámku;fmú'k va; mű kúníc 'ukpihanhikkírtti' passu'lpímyá·hváràtì pamúpmánnak pe'hé'rahá'mku;<sup>uf</sup>. 'Ukxwíkváràtì po'ihtí'. Po'pámtcáktihá'<sup>a</sup>k, va; 'u:m 'u'íviruvé'<sup>e</sup>c. Ká'trim 'u'árihierihe'<sup>e</sup>c, 'u'íviruvé'<sup>e</sup>c. Tce'myátceva vura patakunpe'hé'tana kó'vúra, va; 'u:m pu'aθ-kuu'nkuhíttihap kunipítti'. Pa-

When a woman gets to be a doctor, she dances ten nights in the sweathouse. Now and then she quits dancing for a while. Later on [after her initiation] she only dances five nights. Whenever she starts to dance, she only dances five nights, later on.

The good doctresses all have long pipes. When they are sucking on people, they smoke every once in a while, that way they take the pains off quick. My deceased mother had a short pipe. I do not think she was a very good doctor.

(HOW A SUCK DOCTOR BREATHES IN THE TOBACCO SMOKE WHILE SHE IS DANCING AT A KICK DANCE)

When a woman doctor is dancing in the sweathouse when they are kick dancing, she breathes through her mouth, she wants the tobacco smoke to go into her mouth. She wants to get to like tobacco, she wants to like tobacco later on when she smokes. She gets stout from the tobacco smoke, from it she gets stout, when she breathes it in, the tobacco smoke, through her mouth. She makes an inhaling sound as she dances. If she shuts her mouth, she gets weak. She will get far gone, she will get weak. Every once in a while everybody takes a smoke, they

<sup>3</sup> This pipe was sold by Sylvester Donohue.

<sup>4</sup> Said in fun. She was an excellent doctor and busy all the time with her cases.

<sup>5</sup> The doctress alone dances standing, the others present sit and kick the floor.

takunpíppú'nva'k, va:<sup>2</sup> kari ta-kunpihé'rana'<sup>a</sup>, purá:n màsvà kun'iθøihti po'hrâ:m, pa'ém 'u:m vura mu'úhra:m kitc 'uhé'rati', pura kara vura ve'hé'raramtihara pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m, 'u:m vúra kitc 'uhé'raramtiva:<sup>a</sup> pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m.

3. Pahú:t 'Icrá'mhírak Va'ára:r 'ukupararihk'yanhivá:θváhití pakkuhár<sup>6</sup>

(HOW MRS. HOODLEY CURED A SICK PERSON)

'Axakílxurar mit napatum-kó:ot. Tá:y vávan 'ínnák kun'á-rá:rahiti'. 'Iök'yáffúrax 'uθka'íra-hiti', kar uttávahiti 'í'ök'yá'. Patu'árihiciha:k pamupákkuri, xás va:<sup>2</sup> kari takunpakúri'hvana'<sup>a</sup>. Vura 'u:m púva: 'ínnák 'ikré-vi-cara 'á:nví'pu:x. Kó:vúra 'á:v 'ikxáram kunpárùpkúrihva', 'axákmahite vura 'avkít tuycurak kunparúpkurihva 'ikxaramktínic. Kah'lé:mca 'u:mkun 'ikxurar xas 'ára xus kun'ú:mmutii', nu:<sup>2</sup> 'u:m vura súppá:hak 'ára xus kun'ú:mmutii', pavura takká:rímha'<sup>a</sup>k, xas 'ikxáram kunpatúmkó:tí'.

Va:<sup>2</sup> mit 'úppa'at: "Va:<sup>2</sup> xus 'é:stihanik kun'áppurañik, víri va:<sup>2</sup> 'i:m vura puhárixay 'íp yáv pe:cara pamíθva'<sup>a</sup>y. Va:<sup>2</sup> vura pahárivariva:<sup>a</sup> vúra papuxxwítc ik'yuhá:k, va:<sup>2</sup> 'á? upvó:nsiprē:vic pa'aráttá:n'vá. Karix'as ik va:<sup>2</sup> 'í:n 'i:k'yáre:cap pa'aráttá:n'va. Su? u:m vúra va:<sup>2</sup> tusákri:vha'. Paxúnxu:n tukiccápárařiv, 'Úpmá:nhiti', vásilhkam xas 'úpmá:nhiti'. Vura tapuné:cyú:nké:ra, tusákri:vha'. Vura 'u:m tapu-né:cyú:nké:ra, vura ník 'u:m nu-

say they do not get sore throats that way. When they rest, they smoke, they pass the pipes around. But the doctor smokes her own pipe, nobody else's, she just smokes her pipe alone.

She nodded her head over me (circumlocution for she sucked me) two evenings. There were lots of people in the house. She had on a feather cape, and she was vizored with feathers. When she started to sing, they all would sing. No person who is not painted can stay in the house. They all dot their faces with black, a black dot is put on each cheek of each person. The up-river doctors doctor at night, but our people doctor through the day; only in a bad case do our people suck at night.

She said: "They had deviled him [that dead person], whom you took care of [before he died], you never will be good again in your chest [gesture]. Whenever you get sick again, the pain will rise up again. That pain is the one that is going to kill you. It is getting hard inside. It [the pain] is tied up with spit. It has a mouth, and its mouth is to your back. I can not pull it out. It is hard [to take out]. I can not put that out, I can only help a

<sup>6</sup> The following text, dictated by Imk'yavan, describes how she was doctored by 'Icrá'mhírak Va'ára:r, Mrs. Hoodley, the use of the tobacco pipe being a prominent feature.

pipearavrik'á'anammahatche'c.  
Vura 'u:m pu'ararakúhahařa,  
vura 'u:m 'apxantí'tckyúha'."  
Xas'upítti": "Va: 'u:m vura ni'a-  
púnmuti pa'árottá'nv ikyénná-  
tiha'k, va: 'u:m vura ni'a'pún-  
muti 'ávahkam. Su? 'u:m yí: va:  
'u:m vúra tapuná'a'púnmará."

Karixas napatúmk'u, kó'vúra  
napatúmk'u. Karixas tu'ě'θrícuk  
pamu'úhra'a'm. Karixas tuhé'er.  
Karixas ne'hyakúrī'hva pamu'úh-  
ra'a'm, 'upakurí'hvúti', 'u'i'hti'.  
Va: vura yíttcakanite po'hyák-  
kuti', kó'mahite vura po'kké'na-  
vavaθti<sup>7</sup> po'hrá'm. Patcim upí-  
cý'unké'vicaha'k, va: kári pató-  
k'ví'kva'. Vura pusu? 'uyú'nvára-  
tihara 'apmá'n, 'uhram'ú'm mukw-  
ite vura tó'pmá'n'há'. Vura puvá-  
ramahara pamu'úhra'a'm.  
Kúyrá'kkan pané'hyákkurihat  
pananíθva'a'y, 'axvá'k káru,  
vura pupuxx'ítchara vura, tcaka-  
'í'te k'yúnic. Karixas pató'k'ví'k-  
va'. Viri patupícyú'nkiv po'hrá'm,  
yatik pa'a'x 'utákkárárihvic  
po'hnam'íppaňitc. Kúkku:m  
vura taxxánnahicite tupihé'er.  
Tcé'myáteva po'he'ratí po'm-  
má'htiha:k pa'aráttá'n'va.

Kunipítti pakkáruck va'ě'mca  
puhitíha:nhara patumkō'ttihaþ,  
po'hrá:m kitc kunic vura paku-  
níhrú'vti' vúra tcé'myáteva kitc  
pakunpihé'ratí', va: vura kitc  
pakunkupítti', kuntáttuycuruti  
'í'θk'yámű'u'k payikkihář.

little bit. It is not Indian sickness, it is White man sickness." Then she said: "I know if the pains are paining you, I know on the exterior, I do not know far in."

Then she sucked me, she sucked me all over. Then she took out her pipe. Then she smoked. Then she stood the pipe on me [bowl against my skin], she was singing, she was dancing, too. She pressed it on in one place, rocking it a little. Every time when she took it [the pipe] away [from my skin], then she inhaled with a noise. She did not put it into her mouth, she just held her mouth close to the pipe. She did not have a very long pipe. Three different places she stood it on my chest, and on my head [on my forehead], too, not hard, just gently [on my head]. Then she inhaled with a noise. Then when she took the pipe away, blood was hanging on the end of that pipe. Then after a while she smoked again. She keeps smoking every little while as long as she sees the pain in there.

They say that the upriver doctors do not suck much; they use rather the pipe, every once in a while they take a smoke; that is all the way they do, with a [condor feather] they brush the sick person off.

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<sup>7</sup> Or po'kké'návasti, as it rocks.

XV. Pahú·t papiric?ané·kyàvá·n-sa pícci:p kunkupamútþi·θ-vahiti pehé·raha', pa'ánnav karixás kunikyá·tti'

(HOW THE STEAMING DOCTORS THROW TOBACCO AROUND BEFORE THEY FIX THEIR MEDICINE)

'Ávansas mit kitc kúníc pa'ané·kyává·nsà', kúna vura 'u:m payé·m va: tapúffa'a:t, takunpérupaffi:p. Payé·m vura ni k'yá·kkum 'asiktává·nsa takunsá·m, 'asiktavan?ané·kyává·nsa'. Xutcxutckássar<sup>1</sup> va: mit yé·ccí'i:p. Kunipítti 'Akraman?áhu<sup>2</sup> karu vura nik 'u'íttapti'. Pa'ára tó·kkúha'a:k, va: kari takunpíkyá:r pa'ané·kyáva'a:n. Va: vura kari pícci:p vura takun?é'e. Kari vura púv ikyav pa'ánnav kari vura takun?é'e. 'Íθapaθúv-ri:n va: vura kó: pa'íccavsi:p. Há·ri 'itráhyar fúrax. Pa'apxan-tínnihitc vé·ttak kunřivýshuk va: kár itráhyár 'ícpük vúra takun?íccavsi:p.

Patakunpíkyá·ha:k pa'ané·kyáva'a:n, kari mahí·tnihate vura tuvá·ram, to·kyá·t pamuppíric, máruk vura kó·kkáninay to·kyá:a:r, tu'apimpí·θvar pamuppíric. Xas tu'íppak, 'usá·nvüti pamuppíric. Pakó: 'u'á·pünmuti va: pamuppíric, va: kó: to·psáruk, táhpu"u:s, karu hár icvírip, káru 'akrávsi'i:p, karu 'akvítii'i:p, karu vicvankuha'án'nav, karu hárí kusríppa:n, pakó: 'u'á:pünmuti', va: kó: 'u'úhyanakð·víc. Kó:vúra pakó: muppíric va: kó: 'u'i-

When they get the steaming doctor, he goes early in the morning, he goes to pick his herbs, all over upslope he goes to pick them, he goes to look for his herbs. Then he comes back, packing his herbs in his hands. Whatever kinds he knows, that many he brings home, the twigs of Douglas Fir, and sometimes Jeffrey Pine, and cottonwood, and alder, and vicvankuha'án'nav [fern sp.], and sometimes madrone, as many as he knows

<sup>1</sup> Mg. having his head hair like a nest, referring to his slightly curly hair.

<sup>2</sup> Mg. he walks as if going to war.

patsúrō'tì 'itcámmahite pa'áp-tí'k va; 'u:m hár ifyá'vúràvà patú'ppítcasha'a<sup>k</sup>.<sup>3</sup>

'Í'm vura tó'psámkir pamup-píric, pamáruk tu'íppakahá'a<sup>k</sup>, 'ínnák pusá'mfürùktihára. Pakú'sra 'a'vánnihite to'kré'ha'a<sup>k</sup>, kari po'kyá'tti pa'án'nav. 'Asíppi:t po'kyá'tamti', papuva'ássip-háhiti'. Pakuhíthian mu'ará:r va; 'í'n takuníé<sup>e</sup>, pa'ássip. Yítce<sup>t</sup>c vura tuvó'nnúpük, pa'ánnav 'ikyá'ttiháñ. Va; ku-má'i'i pa'íkk'yam 'ukyá'tti', patuycí:p<sup>4</sup> 'í'n kunímm'yústi'.

Karixas tu'úruppuk pamu'ás-síp, pamu'ané'kyá'rav.<sup>5</sup> Va; kú:k tu'ú:v pa'ássip pamup-píric 'utá'yhithirak 'í'kk'yam. Va; ká:n to'θe:f:c pamu'ássíp, 'árun. Xas yiθukánva vura po-tá'yhíti pappíric, payiθúva ku mappíric.

Xas ká:n vura 'í'kk'yam<sup>6</sup> píci:p 'umutpí'θvúti pa'uhipihiktcú-rappu', 'utcú'phíti po'mutpí'θ-vúti'. Picci:p k'yá:n 'utayvá-ratti<sup>7</sup> pe'hé'raha', patu'ycí:prin 'u'ákkihváná'ti', pe'θívθa'nné:n k'yáru vúfa, ká:n vur 'iv'í'kk'yam po'akíhef:prímati pehé'raha'.

Patuycí:prin 'u'ákkihváná'ti': "Má:pay pe'hé'raha takik'ákk-kiha:p. Teimi k'yanapipcarav-rí:ki', Yá:s'ára teim 'u'í'kk'yam-

[formulas for], that many he is going to pray over. All his herbs as many as there are he breaks off one limb at a time, sometimes several if they are small ones [small plants].

He leaves his herbs outside the living house, when he comes back from upslope; he does not pack it into the living house. When the sun is already somewhat high, then he makes the medicine. It is a new bowl basket that he makes it with, a bowl basket that has never been used. The sick person's relatives furnish it, that bowl basket. He goes out alone, when he makes the medicine. He makes it outside so that the mountains will see him.

Then he takes his bowl basket outdoors, his steaming receptacle. He takes the bowl basket to where he left his herbs outside. He sets his bowl down there, empty. Then he lays the herbs in separate places, each kind of herb.

Then outside there first he throws around the pounded up stem tobacco; he is talking as he throws it around. First he

<sup>3</sup> He does not tie the sprigs he picks in bunches, he just carries them holding the stems grasped together in his hand.

<sup>4</sup> Or patuycí:prin.

<sup>5</sup> Special term applied to the bowl basket used for steaming.

<sup>6</sup> Or 'í:m.

<sup>7</sup> This is the idiom.

hè'°c.<sup>8</sup> Tcimi Yá'sára kipk'yo-hímmatecv'. Tcimi k'yanapipcaravrí-ki', pátùycí-p." Vura 'u:m tcí-mmítc po'mutpí-thvúti'.

Xas tu'uhyanákku:pappíric 'itcamahite. Yíøøa kumappíric<sup>9</sup> piccí-te tu'ú-ssíp, va:vura 'avpí-mmítc po'axaytcákkicerhti, xakararáttí:kmú:k, po'uhyanakd-tti'. Xas patupuhyanakd-m'mar, kári 'ássipak to'θívrám'ni. Púyava 'íffuθ yíø kúna kumappíric tu'ú-ssíp. Va:kúkkku:m yíø kumá'ü-hyàn patu'uhyanákku". Ássipak to'θívramni kúkkku:m va:a. Kóvúra vo'ku-pe'kyá:hiti pamuppíric. Teatik vúra tapúffa:t pappíric. Xas pa'ássip tupíktá:msíp pa'ássip, pappíric 'u'i·θra'. Xas 'íccahattí:m kú:k tu'ú:m, kú:k tó:kta:m'má. Xas 'íccaha to'ttárívrámni pamu'ássipak pamu'ánná:a.

Karixas va: 'ínná:k tó:ktá:m-fürùk payíkkihar 'uθá:nní:rak 'ínná:a. Xas piccí-te va:tó:tá:rívk'äràvàθ pa'íccaha payíkkihar. Karixas patuparampúkk'ík, píccí:p tu'ícmáθ pa'íccaha'. Va:muppi:m to'θí:c po'θá:nní:rak. Karixas va: 'asé:mfir tuturuk-kúrihva pa'ássipak. 'Imxaθá:yav pato'mtúpaha:k pappíric. Xas vás:tupaθxúttap. Va:vura

"spoils" the tobacco, he is feeding the mountains and the earth, it is outside there that he is feeding the mountains from.

He feeds the mountains: "Here I feed ye this smoking tobacco. Ye help me, Human is going to go outside. Feel ye sorry for Human! Ye help me, ye mountains." He just throws it around a little.

Then he prays over the herbs one at a time. He takes up one kind of herb first; close to his face he holds it, with both hands, as he prays over it. Then when he finishes praying over it, then he puts it in the bowl basket. Then afterwards he takes up another kind of herb. He prays a different prayer over it. Then he puts it in turn in the bowl basket. He does that same way to all his herbs. Then the herbs are through with. Then he picks up the bowl basket, with the herbs in it. Then he goes to the water, he packs it to the water. Then he puts water in his bowl basket on his medicine.

Then he packs it into the house where the sick person lies in the house. Then the first thing he makes the sick person drink some of that water. Then he starts in to steam him, first he makes him drink the water. He sets the bowl basket close to where he [the sick person] is lying. Then he puts hot boiling stones into that cup. It smells

<sup>8</sup> The Ixxareyavs, when speaking of Human dying, always said tu'íkk'äm, he has gone outside [the house], instead of tu'iv, he has died.

<sup>9</sup> Or pappíric.

ká:n 'úkri'<sup>1</sup>, 'úmmū·sti'. Pató·m-síp,<sup>10</sup> yíθ kuna to·pturukúrihvà'. 'Iθasúppa; vo·parampúkkikti pa-yíkkihár, va; po·parampúkkiky-arati pa'ípa 'uhyanakkó't. 'Iθa-súppa; xas pó·mtú·pti'. Pu'im-firahírurav ikyá·ttiháp. Xas pató·mtup pappíric 'ikxurar, xas tukó·ha'. Yíθ tumússahina·ti pappíric, tó·mtup. Xas pa'ánnav patupíkya'a;r, xas va; to·pá·tvaθ pa'aná·'á·smú'u;k, vā; mū;k to·pá·tvaθ pa'aná·'á;s payíkkihár. Xas yíθ kuma'íccahamú;k takunpíp-pá·tvaθ. Xas tuvó·nsip payíkkihár, papupuxwítc ká·rimhá'a;k. Xas f'm tupíktá·mnúpuk pamup-píric pa'ané·kyáva'a;n, pa'ássipak, tu'íccunva 'í·kk'am pappíric xáy kunmah. Xas tupíoxa'a pamu'ás-síp. Xas va; vur upavíkve;c pa'ássip po·pvá·ramaha'a;k. Va; takunpíp pakkúha kó·vúr upsá·n-ve'e;c pa'ássipák sù?, pato·pavíkva pa'ássiþ.

Páva kó;k ?ané·kyávan, pa'ánnav ukyá·ttihá'a;k, 'íccaha pu-fíctihárà kuyraksúppa'a;. Va; kari vura tu'aramsí·priv pappíric to·kyá·rähá'a;k, tapu'íccaha 'í·cti-hára. Xú:n vura kite pupáttati kuyraksúppa'a, u'á·ytí': "Xay 'íccaha né·xra', pafá·t ni'ávaha'a;k."

nice when the herbs get all cooked. Then he covers him [the sick person up with a blanket]. He stays there watching him. If it gets cooled off, he puts some other ones [hot boiling stones] in. All day long he steams the sick person, with what he has prayed over. It takes all day long to cook it. They do not make it so hot. Then when the herbs "get cooked" in the evening, then he quits. The herbs look different, when they are done. Then when he finishes the medicine, then he bathes him with the medicine water, with the medicine water he bathes the sick person. Then they bathe him with other [ordinary] water. Then the sick person gets up, if he is not too sick. Then the steaming doctor packs his herbs outdoors, in the bowl basket, he hides the herbs outside, lest people see them. Then he washes out the bowl basket. He is going to take it along with him when he goes home. They say that he is going to take all the sickness away in the bowl basket, when he packs it home with him.

That kind of steaming doctor, when he makes his medicine, does not drink water for three days. From the time that he starts to go to pick the herbs, he does not drink water. He merely spoons acorn soup for three days, he is afraid "I might get thirsty if I eat anything."

<sup>10</sup> Lit. if it becomes extinguished, said of fire. A curious extension of the verb.

XVI. Pahū't 'ihē'raha kunkupa-táyvárahiti pa'akúnvā'nsa'

Há·ri po'ákkunvútiha:k pa'á-ra'ar, tágá:n yiθθa súppa 'ihé'rah uptayváratti', payiθθa kúkku:m 'ikk'yurá: to:kfúkkuvra':, kúkku:m va:ká:n 'ihé'raha tutáyva':r, va: pay pakunkupavé:nnáffipahiti':

"Tù:ycíp, tcimi pay nu'ákki pehē'raha'. Na: mahávnikáy-å:tche:cík, tù:ycíp. 'Ó:k taní:'áhu":. Vé:k nipikyá:ráve:c pamí'aramahé:cci':p. Pamikinín-ná:ccít ve:k nipikyá:ráve':c."

Pehē'raha'uhíppi', va: mit pakuntáyvarattihá:, há·ri mit vur ihé'raha'. Payé:m vura pa'ap-xantí:tcé:hé'raha' patakuntayá-ratti'.

1. Yíθθa pákkuri po:pívúyri:nkyúti pahú't pehē'raha kunkupe-tayváratti pakun'ákkunvutiha:a:k

(SONG TELLING HOW HUNTERS THROW TOBACCO AROUND)

The following kick-dance song tells of a hunter throwing tobacco:

'Itahará:n víra  
'ihé'rah uptayváratti  
'í:k'yam vavunayvíteva':n 'í:yá.

He spills [=prays and throws around] tobacco 10 times, he who is walking around outside [=the hunter].

(HOW HUNTERS "SPOIL"  
TOBACCO)

Sometimes when a person is hunting he throws tobacco around many times in one day, whenever he gets to the top of a ridge, he throws tobacco there again, he prays thus:

"Mountain, I will feed thee this tobacco. Mayst thou be glad to see me coming, mountain. I am coming here. I am about to obtain thy best child. Thy pet I am about to obtain."

It was stem tobacco that they used to throw around, sometimes leaf tobacco. Nowadays it is the White man tobacco that they throw around.

XVII. Patciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s, pahú·t mit  
k'áru vura kunkupe·hró·hitihá·t

Tciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s 'u<sub>2</sub>m vura pū·vic-tunvē·ttcas.<sup>a</sup> Ka·tim<sup>if</sup>n·yrahiv kuníhrū·vti,<sup>1</sup> karu vura Panam-nik·yrahiy, karu vura karuk·yra-hiv va; káru ká;n vura kuníhrū·vti patciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s, karu vura pasa-ruk·yámku<sup>f</sup><sup>2</sup> takunikyá·ha'<sup>a</sup>k, ku-níhrū·vti va; patcirixuspú·vic.

Va; vúra kitc tafirapuhpú·vic-tunvē·ttcas. Xé·hva<sup>s</sup> káru 'u<sub>2</sub>m vùrā yìθ, xé·hva<sup>s</sup> 'u<sub>2</sub>m 'ührám-pú·vic. Víkk'yapuhak vúra su<sup>s</sup>'umáhyá·nnahiti'.

'Itráhyar patcirixyuspú·vic va;  
viri va; 'axyaráva kunikyá·tti pa-'uhíppi', Ka·tim<sup>if</sup>n pakun·ycri·m-tiha'<sup>a</sup>k, pata'ifutetimitesúppa;  
pa'a·h kunikyá·tti máruk, 'inki-ra'ahíram. Xas va; kunmútpi·θ-vuti k'á;n pa'ahirámti<sub>2</sub>m pa-'uhíppi', pakunvénna·fíptiha'<sup>a</sup>k.

'Itráhyar patciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s kō·kā-ninay vura va; kuníhrū·vti', va;  
vura 'ata kitc k'á;n 'itnó·ppite kuníhrū·vti patciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s pasa-ruk·yámku<sup>f</sup> takunikyá·ha'<sup>a</sup>k, va;  
ká;n 'Amé·kyá·ram 'itró·p papú-victunvē·ttcas yíθea puvíck'yá·m-mak kunmáhyá·nnati su?.<sup>3</sup>

(THE TCIRÍXXUS, AND WHAT THEY DID WITH THEM)

Tcirixxus are little sacks. They use them at the Katimin new year ceremony, and at the Orleans new year ceremony, and at the up-river new year ceremony, they use the tcirixxus there, too, and when they make the downslope smoke they use the tcirixxus sacks.

They are nothing but little buckskin sacks. A xehvas is different, a xehvas is a pipe sack. They are kept in a vikk'yapu.

They fill 10 tcirixxus sacks with stem tobacco on the last day of the Katimin target shooting when they make the fire upslope at Inkir fireplace. Then they throw around the stem tobacco there by the fireplace, while they pray.

They use 10 everywhere except only 5 tcirixxus at the downriver smoke, there at Amekyaram they put 5 little sacks into one big sack.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For detailed description of the use of tcirixxus at the Katimin new year ceremony see pp. 245-247.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the Yutimin spring salmon ceremony.

<sup>3</sup> Models of the large and small teiríxxu<sup>u</sup>s sacks used at the spring salmon ceremony were made by Mrs. Mary Ike, and are shown in Pl. 36. The large sack has a drawstring: 'uptó·ntciccarahiti vastá-ian, it draws together with a thong.

Patciríxxus takunikyá·ha'ak, súlkam kunkrúpti', íppámú'uk, pavura paxé·hvás kunkupé·krúpahiti'. Karixas yíθθukamkam takunpúvrin patakunpíkyá·raha'ak.

Karixas 'ipanní·tc vastáran takuníkrúpká', va; mū· kunipkíccape'e·c.

Karixas pakunvénnañáfítiha'ak, va; takunpíppuř, pa'uhippi kumútpí·θvuti'.

1. Pahú·t Kú·f<sup>3a</sup> 'ukupáppí·fk'yuna·hanik pala?tim'i·nye·ripáxvú·hsa', pamuppákkuri tciríxxus 'upivuyrl'mk'yútihanik Kú·f

'Ukní·. 'Ata háriva kun'árá·rähiti'.

Ta;y vávan vúra va; ká;n pa;ifáppí·ttitcás. Xas u;mkun vúra va; kunkupítti', 'imm'a;n kúku;m pakun?ú·pván'và, Ma?ticram. Teavura pâ·npay 'iθá;n kuma kári te·kxurar va; ká;n takunpavyfhič, pamukun?atim-nampí'm'matc.<sup>4</sup> Ta'ip kó·vúra pamukun'áttiv 'axyár kunikyá·vo'ot, ta'ip k'á;n kumipvumníce·crí·hvát pamukun'áttiv. Tcimi kunpavyihcipe·vic, takunkáriha pakunkupapávyihciprehe'e·c.<sup>5</sup> Xas máruk kúnitrá·ttí. Tcimax-may máruk 'afienihanyá·mate'u'lhun'ni. Vúra u;m yá·matc pa'afienihan'nitc, tupá·nváyá·te-hé'en. Purá;n takunippé'r: "If yá·matcicte pammáruk ta'ihunni-han." Teavura pâ·npay vura

<sup>3a</sup> Western Spotted Skunk, *Spilogale phenax* Merriam, also called tecníhim and tecnímk'a'am (-ka'a'm, big).

<sup>4</sup> They were just resting from making their loads.

<sup>5</sup> Referring to their loads being made up, ready to pack.

When they make a tcirixxus, they sew it wrong side out, with sinew; they sew it the same way as they do the pipe sack. Then they turn it right side out when they finish making it.

Then they sew a thong at the top to tie it up with.

Then when they pray, they open them up, they throw the stem tobacco around.

(HOW SKUNK SHOT THE KATIMIN MAIDENS, HOW SKUNK MENTIONED TCIRIXXUS IN HIS SONG)

Ukni. They were living [there].

There were many girls there. What they were doing was just going out to dig roots every day, at Maticram. Then later on one evening they were sitting there, by their pack baskets. They had already filled all their pack baskets; they had put their pack baskets in a row. They were about to start home, they were already fixed up how they were going to go. Then they looked upslope. Behold from upslope there came a good-looking dancing youth. He was good-looking, that youth; he was all painted up. They said to each other: "He is nice-looking, that one who danced down." Then after a while he danced downslope a little closer,

ta'ú-mmukite po'ihùnnihti', po-  
óivtä·pti'. Få:t kúnic<sup>6</sup> 'umsiva-  
xavrínnatì pamúθva'a:y, kipa  
tcántca:f pamúθva'a:y, pakuním-  
mýū·stí'. 'Upakurí·hvüti'.

*Song by the Skunk*

Kú·fan ?án ?án ?án<sup>7</sup>

Tcírixus tcirí·xú:s.

Teavura páy k'yó·mahite xas  
'á:v uteyirunní·hvänà'. Kárixas  
kun tô·ric, pa'ifáppitticás, kó·v  
ikpihan pamúppi. Kárixas kun-  
púffá·thìnà'. Kárixas kú:k 'ús-  
ká·kmà', pa'áttimnam 'uvúmní·n-  
né·rak kú:k 'úska·kmà'. Ta'ít-  
tam 'árun 'ukyá·vó·hè:n pamu-  
kun·áttiv. Kuníkríttuv pa'ifáp-  
pi·tticás, takunpúffá·thìnà', ta-  
kunimyú·mnihina; pappi. Xas  
upíθvássi. Teavura pá·npay  
kákku takunpímta. Teavura  
pá·npay kóvúra takunpímta. Yá-  
navá kó·vúra ta'árún pamu-  
kun·áttiv. Xas kunpávyi·cìp.  
Atimnam·ánnunite kunpatfeci:p.  
Xas sáruk kunpíhmarun'ni.

Xas kunpávyihma', sáruk, pa-  
mukun·íkrívra'a:m. Makúnki:t  
Kó·va kun·rá·ràhiti'. Xas yíøø  
upí:p: "Púffa: pananutáyi".  
Máruk 'affícihanite u'fhun-  
nihia. Viri va: 'f'n takinyaváyí·p-  
va'. Xas vura hú:t va: vura  
pakininníccahe'en, púxay víra  
kinmáhe'en. Va: vura kárixas  
nupmahónko'o:n, panupifúksi'i:p.  
Yánavá tapúffa:t pananutáyi".  
'Ip k'inpífk'yó'ot. Víra 'u:m  
ké·míc." Xas pamukúnki:t up-

dancing the war dance. His front  
side shone up bright, it was so  
white, as they were looking.  
He was singing.

*Song by the Skunk*

Kú·fan ?án ?án ?án<sup>7</sup>

Tobacco sack, tobacco sack.

Then when there close he  
breathed on their faces. Then  
the girls all fell over, his poison  
was so strong. They fainted.  
Then the skunk jumped over  
toward there, toward where the  
pack baskets were sitting. Then  
he emptied all their pack baskets.  
The girls were lying in a pile;  
they had fainted, they were giddy  
from the poison. Then he put  
the load on his back. Then after  
a while some girls came to. Then  
all came to. Behold they saw  
that all their pack baskets were  
empty. Then they went home.  
They were packing back empty  
baskets.

Then they got home, down slope,  
to their living house. They lived  
with their grandmother. Then  
one said: "Our cacomites are  
all gone. A boy danced down  
from up on the hill. He took  
them away from us. We do  
not know what he did to us, we  
never even saw what he did to us.  
We did not feel it until we got  
up again on our legs. Behold  
our cacomites were all gone.  
He poisoned us. He was venom-

<sup>6</sup> Lit. like something.

<sup>7</sup> This line has no meaning.

pí:p: "Vâ·ník, manik tani'á·pún'-ma, Kû·f. Manik nikyá·vic pa-kukupé·kkvárahe'·c." Karixas 'úkyá vó·hxára. Xas uppí:p: "Má·pay, pakúkkum uppíhùn-nihà'·k, vé·kpaymú·k kú·krúk-kùvárè'·c."

Xas kúkkum po·ssúppá·há', kúkkum kunívyi·hcíp, kuní·p-vánva kúkk"m. Mahí·tniháte kúkkum kunívyi·hcíp. Tcavura kúkkum ta:y takuní·pváná'. Tcavúra kúkkum takunvumnícrí·hva pamukuntáyí<sup>10</sup>. Teimax-may k'yúkkum máruk u'ihun'ni. Teavura ta'ú·mmukítc. ...'Upa-kurí·hvúti'.

*Song by the Skunk*

Kú·fan ?an ?án ?án<sup>8</sup>

Tcírixus tcirí·xú's

Karixas ta'íttam kúkkum 'utc-yírùnnihé:n 'â·v. Xas yíθa tu-púffá·thá'. Xas yíθ u'árihcíp. Pa'ípa u'árihcípre·nhá', káruma vo·avíkvuti pavó·hxára. Ta'ít-tam vo·krúkkváràhe:n pavó·hxárahmú'k.<sup>9</sup> Yo·tákñihun'ni. Yássáruk utákníhun'ni. Kárixas kunpatícci'ppamukuntáyí<sup>10</sup>, kun-patícci'<sup>11</sup>p, takuní·tcitchina'. Xas sáruk kunpávyi·hmá pámu-kuní·krívra'·m. Xas kunpí:p: "Tánupíyk'áravar. Hínupa va:í'n pakinyaváyyi·pvutihàník."

Púya va:í'u:m 'ukúphän'ník. Kû·f. Va:ívúra ká:n pirícri:k

ous." Then their grandmother said: "Surely, I know, it is Skunk. I will make something so you can kill him." Then she made a long digging stick. Then she said: "Here, if ever he dances downslope again, ye must stick him with this."

Then when morning came, they all went again, they went again to dig roots. They went early in the morning. They dug lots again. Then again they set in a row their loads of cacomites. Then all at once from upslope he danced down again. Then he came closer. He was singing.

*Song by the Skunk*

Kú·fan ?an ?án ?án<sup>8</sup>

Tobacco sack, tobacco sack.

Then he again poisoned their faces. Then one of them fainted. But one of them jumped up. The one who had jumped up, she had the digging stick in her hand. Then she stuck him through with the long digging-stick. He rolled downslope. Downslope he rolled. Then they put their loads of cacomites back on their backs, they were so glad. Then they got back downslope to their living house. Then they said: "We finished him. He is the one that always did take it away from us."

That is the way he did, Skunk. He went into the brush there.

<sup>8</sup> This line has no meaning.

<sup>9</sup> Behind.

'uvd'ntákrahañik. Va; vura ká:n 'upké·vicerihàník.<sup>10</sup> Víri va; 'u:m vura payé·m kar imxaθakké'ém, pamúppiñ. Káru va; kumá'i'i pakkatca'í·mitc 'u'ahó·ti', kuniykk'áranik pikváhahiñak, vó·h-mú·k kunikrúkkùváràník 'afupteúráx. 'Ixaram xas uvúrá'y-vutì páyváhe'ém. 'U'á·púnmuti vúra pá'u:m teaka'í·m'mitc 'u'á·púnmuti vúra patcé;to kuni'k-k'are'ec, pa'í·m 'uvúráyyvúthà;k súppá·hák. Kári vari vúr u'lá·θ-vuti'.

Kupánnakanakanana. Kú:f 'ukúphá'n'ník. Viri 'Áxpu:m 'í·n pa'afupterúax kunikrúkkùváràník. 'U;mkun va; paye·ripáx-vú·hsahañik, 'Áxpu:m. Viri va; 'u;mkun pakunkúphá'n'ník. 'U;mkun Ka'timlín'lifáppí·ttcás-hàník.

Tcé·mya;tc 'ík vúr Icyá·t 'im-cínná·víc. Nanivássi vúrav e·ki-niyá'atc. Tcé·mya;tc 'ík vúra 'Atáytcukkinatc 'í'ú·nnúprave'ec.

He was metamorphosed there. And it smells yet, his poison does. That is why he walks slow, because they fought him in story times, because they stuck him through behind with a digging stick. He travels around nights now. He knows that he is slow, he knows that they can easily kill him if he goes abroad by day. He is afraid yet.

Kupannakanakanana. Skunk did thus. And Meadow Mice stuck him through. They were girls, Meadow Mice. And that is the way they did. They were Katimin girls.

Shine early, Spring Salmon, hither upriver. My back is straight. Grow early, Spring Cacomite.

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<sup>10</sup> To become the modern animal.

## XVIII. Pahú·t kunkupe·hró·hiti pehē·raha pa'írahívh'a·ak

(HOW THEY USE TOBACCO IN THE NEW YEAR CEREMONY)

To understand the following texts on the use of tobacco in the New Year ceremony, we shall give here the briefest outline of this ceremony, complete texts on which have been obtained and will be presented as a separate publication.

The ceremony was held at only three places: At Innam (at the mouth of Clear Creek), at Katimin, and at Orleans. It consisted everywhere of two sections: the 'icriv, or target shooting, a 10-day fire-kindling and target-shooting ceremony, during which the medicine man goes upslope each day to kindle fire at a different fireplace, followed by a crowd of men and boys who shoot arrows at targets as they go up and who reach the fireplace after he has kindled the fire and has started down the hill; and the 'írahiv, the culmination of the ceremony, which consists of a vigil of the medicine man by a sand pile called yúxpi't during the night of the tenth day and festivities on the eleventh day, ending when they stop dancing the deerskin dance at sundown on the eleventh day. The medicine man remains in the sweathouse for 5 nights after the the night spent at the yúxpi't (for 10 nights if he is officiating for the first time), but these additional days are not included in the period known as 'írahiv, which consists only of one night and the following day.

The ceremony is held at Innam starting 10 days before the disappearance of the August moon, and a month later simultaneously at Katimin and Orleans, starting 10 days before the disappearance of the September moon. The night when the 'írahiv starts is the last night that the moon is visible; the medicine man sees the moon for the last time as he goes back to the sweathouse after his night of vigil at the yúxpi't.

Those officiating in the ceremony are the fatavé·nna·n or "medicine man"; the 'imússa·n, or "helper"; the 'icrívá·nsa', or target shooters; the kixáhá·nsa', or boy singe-ers of brush; the 'ikyává·nsa', or two maiden assistants of the medicine man; and the ko·pitxa·ríh-vá·nsa', the officers of the preceding year, who have their separate fire near the yúxpi't fire during the night of the 'írahiv.

There are always several men who can function as medicine man and the same man did not usually officiate for any considerable number of years, but there was interchanging.

The purpose of the ceremony is for the refixing of the world for another year, and from the Indian expression for this, 'iθívθá·nné·n

'upikyá·víc, he [the fatavé·nn'a·n] is going to refix the world, comes the term pikyavish, the name of the ceremony current locally among the Whites.

1. Pafatavé·nn'a·n pahú·t'ukupa-  
'é·θihahiti hitíha·n pamu-  
'úhra'a·m

(HOW THE FATAVENNAN ALWAYS  
CARRIES HIS PIPE WITH HIM)

Vura va;<sub>a</sub> kunxákká·nhítì pa-  
'ührá·m pafatavé·nn'a·n.<sup>1</sup> Pu'é·θ-  
tihara pamuvíkk'yapuhak pamu-  
'úhra'a·m, tí·k'an vura po'é·θti  
pamu'úhra'a·m, kó·kaninay vura  
pakú;k 'u'ú·mmüti va;<sub>a</sub> vur tí-  
k'an u'é·θti pamu'úhra'a·m. Hití-  
ha·n vura po'é·θti'.

'Í·nná·k patu'íppavar va;<sub>a</sub> vur  
u'é·θti pamu'úhra'a·m, muppí·m  
to·θθáric patù'áv. Xas i·m ta-  
kun·lhyiv: "Xay fa:t 'úxx'wak,  
fatavé·nn'a·n 'a;s tu'ic."

'Á·pun to·θθáric<sup>2</sup> patcim upá·t-  
vé·caha'a·k, pamu'úhra'a·m. Pa-  
musíttecakvútvar karu 'á·pun tó·θ-  
θí·cri'. Xas pa'a;s tuvákkü-  
ri. Xas patupippá·tvámar, kúkku;<sub>m</sub>  
tó·ppé·tcip pamu'úhra'a·m

Vura 'u;<sub>m</sub> kuna vura 'u;<sub>m</sub>  
púva;<sub>a</sub> ká;<sub>n</sub> 'ihé·ratihára, payux-  
pí;ttak tupiharihicriha'a·k.

2. Pahú·t' kunkupe·hé·tana·hiti  
Ka·tim·lín pa'áxxak tukun-  
níha'a·k

Va;<sub>a</sub> kari 'áxxak tukúnni  
Ka·tim·lín Papihné·f'Uθá·nní·rak  
'úsrl'mti', xas va;<sub>a</sub> kari pícci;<sub>p</sub>  
pa'í·críhra;<sub>m</sub> takunívyi·hmaha'a·k,  
karixás 'a;<sub>h</sub> takuníkyáv. Va;<sub>a</sub> pa-  
kunkupafu'íccahiti va;<sub>a</sub> 'u;<sub>m</sub> pú-

The fatavennan just goes with his pipe. He does not carry his pipe in his basketry sack, in his hand he carries it; everywhere he goes he carries his pipe in his hand. He never lets go of it.

When he goes over to eat in the cook house he carries it; he lays it down by him when he eats. Then they holler outside: "Let there be no noise, the fatavennan is eating."

He sets his pipe on the ground when he is going to bathe. He puts his belt on the ground too. Then he goes into the water. Then when he comes out, he puts on his belt again, he picks up his pipe again.

But he does not smoke when he stands by the yúxpi'l't.

(HOW THEY SMOKE AT KATIMIN ON  
THE SECOND DAY OF THE TAR-  
GET-SHOOTING CEREMONY)

On the second day [of the 'icriv ceremony] at Katimin when they target shoot at Pihihne·f'Uθá·nní·rak, first when they get there, they make a fire. They believe there will not be such a big snow

<sup>1</sup> The medicine man in charge of the New Year ceremony.

<sup>2</sup> He lays it, does not stand it on end.

tahkā:mhē·cara 'ícyā'<sup>a</sup>. Karixas va;<sup>b</sup> ká:n kó:vúra takunihé·rana'<sup>c</sup>, hā:ri 'itrō:p ík pó:hrā:m, viri va;<sup>d</sup> purá:n kun?iθθi·hvuti po:hrā:m, kuyrákya'<sup>e</sup>n ik hā:ri 'axákya:n takunpíppi·ckiv. Púyava;<sup>f</sup> kó:vúra takunihé·rana'<sup>c</sup>. Xas va;<sup>b</sup> kárixas patakunkó:ha pakunihé·rana'ti', takunpíccunva pamukun?uhra:m síteakvutvassúruk.<sup>g</sup> Karixas patakunkuníhra'<sup>a</sup>, takuníyvā:yra'<sup>a</sup>.<sup>4</sup>

Va;<sup>b</sup> vura kitc kyá:n kunívyi·hmuti payé·ripáxvū·hsa', va;<sup>b</sup> vura ká:n kō:mmahite kunikrū:nti', purá:n kun?á:nvaθti'.<sup>5</sup> Pakunpihē·tamaraha:k pa'ávansaš, kari-xas ík kunpíhmarrunnihe:c paye·ripáxvū·hsa'. Karixas pa'ávansas patakunkuníhrā:nnaha'<sup>a</sup>k, va;<sup>b</sup> kári va;<sup>b</sup> paye·ripáxvū·hsa takunpí:p: "Mava takuníyvā:yra'<sup>a</sup>." Súva takunpí:p: "Híθθuk híθθuk." Takuníyvā:yra'<sup>a</sup>. Va;<sup>b</sup> kari paye·ripáxvū·hsa takunpíhmarrun'ni.<sup>6</sup> Va;<sup>b</sup> picci'te kunímmýū:sti patakunkuníhra'<sup>a</sup>n. Sáruk takunpíhmárun'ni, takunpá:tvan'va. Kárixas íkun?áve'ec. 'Avákka:m takunpíkyav. Va;<sup>b</sup> kari vura takun?av patakunpíppá:tva'mar. Va;<sup>b</sup> kari pa'ávansas patakunpávyihukaha'<sup>a</sup>k, patakunpíceri·criha'<sup>a</sup>k,<sup>7</sup> 'u:mkun karu takunpá:tvana'<sup>a</sup>, karixas patákun?av 'u:mkun kařu. Páva;<sup>b</sup> káriha:k pe·crívahivha'<sup>a</sup>k, 'itcánite vúra kun?á:mti'.

in the winter time. Then they all take a smoke, sometimes there are five pipes there, they pass them to each other, they take two or three puffs each. Behold, they all smoke. Then when they are through, they put their pipes away under their belts. Then they shoot as they go upslope; they are "spilling in upslope direction."

The girls only go that far, they wait there a little while, they paint each other. When the men get through smoking, then the girls all run back down-slope. Then when the men start to go shooting along up, then the girls say: "I see, they are spilling in upslope direction." They hear them say "híθθuk híθθuk." They are spilling in upslope direction. Then the girls all run back down-slope. They watch when they [the men] first start in to shoot along up. They all run back down-slope, they go and bathe. Then they eat. They fix a big feed. They eat when they finish bathing. Then whenever the men-folks come back, after they come back from the target shooting, they also bathe, and then they eat, too. At that time, the time of the target shooting, they eat only once [a day].

<sup>3</sup> Their belts are all that they have on.

<sup>4</sup> Referring to "spilling up" their arrows, i. e., shooting them.

<sup>5</sup> The girls of course do not smoke.

<sup>6</sup> They have eaten no breakfast.

<sup>7</sup> This is the old term for coming back down from target shooting. This form of the verb is used of this act in the New Year ceremony only.

3. Pahú't mit kunkupíttihat úh-  
'áhakkuv kumasúppa'<sup>8</sup>

(HOW THEY USED TO DO ON THE  
DAY [CALLED] "GOING TOWARD  
TOBACCO")

Patcim u'íré·càhà'sk, patcim upíkyá·té·càhà:k pafatavé·nna'a:n, ('ítahara súppa ukyá·tti', 'avíp-pux po·kyá·tti', 'itcá·nitc vúr 'u-'á·mti 'íkxùrà:r), 'áxxak usúppa·ha<sup>9</sup> 'ukó·he'e:c viri va: kari pe-hé·raha 'uvé·nnárati', pá'u:h<sup>9</sup> 'u-'áhákumti'. Víri va: pó·θvú·tyi 'uh'áhakkuv pasúppa'. 'Ás ká:n 'úkri', 'Uhtayvarára'a:m,<sup>10</sup> viri va: ká:n 'ávahkam takunθí·vtak pa'uh'íppi', málhi:t takunθí·vtak ká:n. Xás va: tu-'áhakkuv pafatavé·nna'a:n. 'U-vé·nnáti vura po-'áhakkumti pe-hé·raha' hitíha:n vu:ta. Va:ká:n su? to·θθí·vramni víkk'yapu-hak patu'ú·ssíp. Karixas tu-'áhu". Máruk 'a:h tó·kyá:r pa'ahíram'mak. Máruk to·nná: Wíkk'yap uskúruhti'. Xas pam-máruk 'a:h tó·kyá:r.

Ka'timí'n karu vúra va: kunkupítt'i' pámitva kunkupíttihat Panámni'k, va: karu vúra va: ká:n kunkupitti kah'ínna'a:m, va: karu vura ká:n va: yíθea súppa: 'úθvú·tyi 'uh'áhakkuv. Pa'as Ka'timí'n va: ká:n pó·kri: Ka-ruklá:ssak<sup>11</sup> mukká:m.

When the New Year ceremony is about to take place, when the fatavennan is about to finish his work (he works 10 days, working without eating, he eats just one meal evenings), two days before he gets through, he prays over tobacco, he goes toward tobacco. They call that day "the going toward tobacco." There is a rock there, and they put on top of it there the tobacco stems, in the early morning they put them on there. Then the fatavennan goes toward it. He keeps praying all the time that he is walking toward the tobacco. He puts it in his wikk'yapu when he picks it up. Then he goes on. He makes a fire upslope at the fireplace [of that day]. He goes upslope. He is packing his wikk'yapu. Then he makes a fire upslope.

At Katimin they do the same as they did at Orleans, and they do the same upriver at Clear Creek, one day there, too, is called "going toward tobacco." The rock at Katimin is just upslope of Karukassak.

<sup>8</sup> On the eighth day.

<sup>9</sup> Old ceremonial name of tobacco, here *volunteered*. The word is scarcely ever used nowadays.

<sup>10</sup> Mg. where they spoil (i. e. pray and throw) tobacco. The rock and place are a little toward Georgie Orcutt's house from the Orleans schoolhouse.

<sup>11</sup> The rock at Katimin spring. The rock at Katimin is called 'Uhθí·críhra'a:m, mg. where they put tobacco on.

4. Pahú·t kunkupitti pata'ifutcti-mitesúppa pe·crív Ka·tim·yí·n

(HOW THEY DO ON THE LAST DAY OF THE 'ICRIV AT KATIMIN)

Pa'ifutctimitesúppa' pa'a·h upikyá·tti pafatavé·nna<sup>a</sup>n, 'itaha-rappú·vic tu'á·pha', tciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s. Pamuvíkk'yàpúhák sù· tumáh-ya<sup>a</sup>n. Va; piccí·tc 'ukupítti 'ik-mahátra;<sup>m</sup> tuvó·nnupuk. Káru-křá·ssak tó·ppá·tvár. 'Uhrá;<sup>m</sup> 'u'ē·θti tí·kk'yáh. 'Ás tí·mitc tó·θáricri pató·pá·tváhá<sup>a</sup>k. Xas va; patu'íppak 'ínná·k vura tó·pvó·nfürük vén·nnáram. Kuníkrú·nti vura 'ínná·k. Xas takunkíffat.<sup>12</sup> Kárixas takun?á·n-'vaθ,<sup>13</sup> 'ikxáramkunic takun?á·n-vaθ 'a·xkúníc káru. Picci;<sup>p</sup> iθá'i;<sup>c</sup> vura 'a·xkúníc takuní·vúruk. Karixas 'ikxárammú·k takuntapúk-puk<sup>14</sup> pamúpsi;<sup>k</sup> áru pamútra<sup>a</sup>x, 'ik x a r a m k u n i c ? á · n v a h a m ú · k . Káru 'á;<sup>v</sup> takunipté·ttiv'raθ. Vic-vá;<sup>n</sup> 'aváhkan karu yíθθa takun-táppukrav. Xas pamupipθáric k'yaru sákriv takuníkyáv.<sup>15</sup> Xas pamupíkvas karu takunihyák-kuri, sákriv víra takuníkyáv. Xas va; pateím uvá·rame<sup>e</sup>c, vík-k'yapuhak takunmáhyan patcirí-xu<sup>u</sup>s, 'itaharatciríxxu<sup>u</sup>s.

The last day, when the medicine man makes the fire, he takes along 10 sacks, tcirixxus. He puts it in his basketry sack. The first thing he does is to come out of the sweathouse. He goes to bathe at Karukassak. He is packing his pipe in his hand. He puts it [the pipe] by the water when he bathes. Then when he comes back he goes into the prayer house. They [two or three men] are waiting for him inside. Then they are prompting him. Then they paint him. They paint him black and red. They first paint him all over with red. Then they transversely stripe his legs and arms with black paint. And they paint a [black] bar across his face. And they paint a [black] bar across on his belly. Then they make tight his back pug. Then they stick in his plume; they make it tight. Then when he is ready to go, they put the tcirixxus into the wikk'yapu<sup>15a</sup> 10 tcirixxus.

<sup>12</sup> This verb is used of this prompting only. Two or three men are always waiting there and after the medicine man enters instruct him what to do for that day, no matter who he is or how many times he has been fatavé·nna<sup>a</sup>n. Tínti<sup>i</sup>n always answers them impatiently: Na; víra nik ni'á·púnmuti pánič'yuphé<sup>e</sup>c, I know what to do.

<sup>13</sup> They paint him good this noon for the paint will still be on him when he goes to the yúxpi<sup>i</sup>t that evening, and he wears this paint all night, during the height of the ceremony.

<sup>14</sup> Ct. takunxúripha', they stripe him lengthwise.

<sup>15</sup> I. e., they tie his hair tightly into a pug at the back of his head. His hair is gathered into a pug, into which the plume is stuck, and there is a mink skin on top of his head, the whole being fastened with iris string.

<sup>15a</sup> The ceremonial quiver.

Xas kó·vúra takun·ittcunvana;  
pa'ára<sup>a</sup>r. Yíøea 'ávansa 'í·m  
tuvō·nnúpuk, tó·hyi·v: "Kik·t̄  
tcunvana<sup>a</sup>. Fatavé·nna:n tu-  
vá·ram. Kik·t̄tcunvana<sup>a</sup>. 'Iø-  
yáru kárù vúr·à. Fatavé·nna:n  
tuvá·ram." 'Iøyáruk 'uhiyivk'yā·n-  
vuti pó·hyi·vtì'.<sup>16</sup> Kó·vúra tak-  
un·ittcunvana;  
pa'ára<sup>a</sup>r. Pam-  
ukúnti:v káru vura takunpcívca·p.  
Tákunxus xay nuθíttiv po·rík-  
kí·khíti. Va; puθíttí·mtihap po-  
ríkkikhe<sup>e</sup>c. Pa'ára tuθíttívaha<sup>a</sup>k  
po·ríkkikhó·ti, to ppí:p: "Tání-  
'á·ksán'và, tcími 'á·vné·mtcák-  
ké<sup>e</sup>c." Xás va; kunipítte patu-  
vó·nnúpuk, xánnahite vura tutax-  
aráppáθùnátí', vé·nnáram 'é·ni-  
crupátti<sup>11</sup>m. Kárixas ick'yí vura  
tu'áhu<sup>u</sup> patuvá·ram. Ma? tuvá-  
ram 'ahí·ram, 'Inkira'ahíram Ma?.  
'U:m vura páttce<sup>e</sup>tc tuvá·ram,  
pe·mússa:n 'U:m xara xas 'uvá-  
ramuti'.

Then all the people hide. One man [of the prompters] goes outside [the cookhouse] and hollers: "Ye hide. The fatavennan is going. Ye hide. On the other side of the river, too. The fatavennan is going." He is hollering across river when he hollers. All the people hide. They stop their ears.<sup>16a</sup> They think they might hear the sound of stepping. They must not hear the sound of stepping. If one would hear the sound of his slow striding, he says: "I am going to have an accident, my face will be burned." They say that when he comes out he strides around for a while outside of the door of the cookhouse. Then swiftly he walks when he leaves. He goes to the Ma fireplace, to the fireplace at Inkir [called] Ma. He sets out alone, the helper sets out later.

<sup>16</sup> The people of Katimin used all to leave their houses at the beginning of the New Year ceremony and camp under the bank at the edge of the river during the 10 days. They claimed that anyone who would stay in the houses at that time would not live long. The result was that much drying salmon used to rot in the houses during these 10 days and be lost. They are permitted to enter the houses for the purpose of making a fire for drying the fish, but are careless about attending to this and much of it spoils. Only those men in the sweathouse with the fatavennan are permitted to remain in the rancheria. That is why the crier faces across river direction, toward the people encamped on the hither bank and those on the Ishipishrihak side.

<sup>16a</sup> The ears are stopped by inserting forefingers in ear holes tightly, pinching with the thumb the lower part of the external ear against the forefinger, and often in addition pressing the whole fisted hand against the ear. This effectually closes the ears to the sound of the fatavennan striding and stamping. 'Utaxaráppáθunati', he strides. 'Uxaprikierí·hvutí', he stamps. 'Uríkkikhó·ti', there is a sound of slow striding or stamping. 'Uríkri·khíti', there is a sound of stepping or walking.

Xas patu'ú'm, va; víra kari tuvé'en, papiccí'te 'ahíram tuváram'ni. Xas pa'ahirámtí:m vura yáv tó'kyáv. Tutatuycunáyá'techá.<sup>17</sup> Ké'tcri:k tirihri:k vura patutáttuycuer. Pakúha yí:v 'uptátùyüti'. Va; mká:n pó'vénna'ti po'táttùyucéruti', su' po'xxüti'.

Víri va; ká:n káru pe'hé'raha pótáyvárati 'ahirámtí'm, pe'hé'-rahateciríxxu"s. pe'hé'raha po-mútpí'θvüti'. Teimítemahite vura po'mutpí'θvutí'. Pattuycip va; 'u:m té:cite 'ákkihti pe'hé'raha', satím'u:y karu vur u'ákkihti'. Va; víra tó'ffí'pha pe'taharatci-ríxxu"s, po'vénna'ti'. Kárixás va; pavastaranpu'vic?árunsa to'pmáhyan víkk'yapuhak, patciri-xuspú'vic ta'árunsa'.

Kari piccí'te pe'krívkir kuna to'ptá·trúpravý, va; ká:n 'upit.cip-ninankd'ttihé:c passúrùkkúrihàlk pa'ahup'íkríttu', po'krítumisipriv-ti pa'áhup. Tee'myátova vo'pímm'yú'stihé:c pattu'ycip. Súva tapu'imtaraná'mhitihara pattu'y-cip, suva tapumá'htihára, kári xas ik 'ukd'he;c pa'áhup 'ukyá't-ti'. Vur 'u'á·púnmuti paká:n 'uptá·trúprave"e, picci:p takun-likcúppi'. Va; vura kite k'vá:n pasúrùkúri kunikyá'tti yíttca-kanic kó'vúra kumaháriñay.

Xas 'u:m vura tu'írip pafatavé'nná'n, vuru 'umá'hiti', 'u'-á·púnmuti paká:n takunikcúppi picci:p. 'Áhupmú:k vura tu'írip. 'Á·pun tu'íripk'yúri. Va; ká:n su' tó'pmah pe'krívkir. Va; vura ká:n tó'psá'mkír pasúrùk-

Then when he gets there, he prays, when he first enters the fireplace ground. Then he makes the place about the fire clean. He sweeps it up good. He sweeps a big wide place. He is sweeping disease afar. That is the place where he prays, when he sweeps, thinking it inside [not speaking it with his mouth].

He also throws around tobacco there by the fireplace, the tcirixxus sacks of tobacco; he throws the tobacco around. He throws it around a little at a time. He feeds the tobacco mostly to Medicine Mountain; he also feeds to Lower Mountain. He uses up 10 tcirixxus sacks of tobacco as he prays. Then he puts the empty buckskin sacks back into the wikk'apu, the tcirixxus sacks already empty.

Then he digs up the disk seat; he will need to be looking from that hole at the woodpile as he is piling up the wood. He will be looking every little while toward the mountain. When the mountain is no longer visible, when he can not see it any more, then he will stop fixing the wood. He knows where to dig; they show him first. They make the pit just there at that one place every year.

Then the fatavennan digs; he has seen it; he knows the place; they have shown him before. He digs it with a stick. He digs down in the ground. He finds that disk seat there. He leaves it in the hole. He is going to sit

<sup>17</sup> Or Tutaxyasunáyá'tcha'.

úrihàk. Va; ká:n po·kúntákicrihe;c pasúrùkúrihàk. Karixas pa'ahup tó·kyav, to·kríttuvic pa'ahup. 'U:m vura va; ká:n pícci:p tupíkyá·rànìk ká:kkum pa'ahup, 'axákya;n ká:n u'íp-páhò·sàvàñìk, pa'ahup ká:n 'úpsá·mkiràñìk, pá va; kári 'úyú·n-kirihe;c. Ta;y tó·kyav pa'ahup. 'Akó·ti·pux karu vura pa'ahup 'ukyá·tti'. Vura purafá:t 'ik-yá·tätiha;a, vura tí·kmü· kitc pukyá·tti'. Súrukam tó·kríttuvic pa'ahúpká·msà', 'ávahkam patú·ppitca;. Tcé·myátev upím-mýú·stí pattu·ycip, su? va; ká:n tupikríf;c pe·krivkífak, maruk tupitrá·tti', pattu·ycip tupím-mýú·stí'. Po·kríttùnsíprivti pa'ahup, súva patu·ycip tapumá·htihà;a, karixas to·xxus takó·h súva patu·ycip tapumá·htihà;a.

Pá·npay íkva xas tu'ú:m pe-mússa'a;. Karixas tuplicaráv'rik. Pafatavé·nna;n 'u:m vúra putcú·phítiha;a, ti;kmü·k 'utaxyá·θ-θùnnátì po·xxutihà;k kiri fá:t 'uyá·ha'. 'U'ú·hkíriti 'ikninnihate<sup>18</sup> pe·mússa'a;, pikvas u'i·hyatc.

Pato·ptá·trúravaha;k pe·krív-kiř, va; kári tuyá·vha to·xxus kiri tcé·mya;te pa'a:h níkyav, puxxútiha;a kiri xár utaxrártti pasúrùkúř. 'Ikyá·kka;m vura po·kyá·tti', 'ayu'á·te 'uyá·vhítí'. Pavúra tó·mkí·nvàràyvá vá;hmú-rax vura kitc 'uxxúti': "Maté·hxára nímyá·htihè;c." 'Ukyá·tti karu vura po·htatvára'a;. Va;

on it down in the hole. Then he fixes the wood, he piles up the wood. He had already gathered some wood there previously. He had been by there twice. He had left some wood there, which he is going to burn at this time. He fixes lots of wood. He makes that wood without any ax. He has no tool, he makes it with his hands alone. He piles big sticks at the bottom, small ones on top. Every once in a while he looks at the mountain. He sits down in that hole on the seat, he looks up, he looks at the mountain. When he is piling up the wood, when he can no longer see the mountain [Medicine Mountain], then he thinks that is enough, when he can no longer see the mountain.

Then after a while the helper arrives. Then he helps him. The fatavennan never speaks, with his hands he motions whenever he wants anything done. The helper wears a mink-skin headband tied around his head, a plume is sticking up.

When he digs up the disk seat, then he is in a hurry to make a fire soon; he does not want the hole to be open a long time. He works hard, because he is in a hurry. When he feels famished he just thinks all the time: "I must live long." He makes the fire poker, too. He makes the poker at the same time when he

<sup>18</sup> He has a 1½-inch wide band of mink skin around his head. It has kúrat or small 'iktakatákkahe'en scalps sewed on its fur side as decoration.

vura kari pa'ahup ukyá·tti, va; karu kar ukyá·tti po·htatvára'sr. 'Áxxak 'u'ippatsuruti kusripan-?áhup pu'ikrú·htíhařa. 'Áxxak 'ukyá·tti pa'áhup. Xas va; tu-pimθáttun'va, va; kári várām tu'árihič. Va; 'úhrú·vti pa-'a:h 'uturuyá·nnáti.<sup>19</sup>

Xas tuθimyúrici', pattu·ycip 'uθxúppihti hitiha;n vuřa. Karixas va; tu'á·hka pa'ahup, pa'ip ukrituvierihá;. Karixas su? tuvákkuři. Piric 'áxxak 'u'á·p-hútí va; mū·k 'uθé·myá·htí pa'a:h, va; 'u:m teé·mya:tc 'u'ínk'yúti'. Passu? tuvákuriha'sk, putc'e:tc 'ipvárurámtihá;. Pató·mfítck'y: pa'áhup kárixas vur upvárúprámti'. Pe'mússa:n 'u:m vura va;ká:n 'uvráyyuti', pa'a:h po-'ínk'yúti k'yarih. Su? ukú·nkúrih-va'. Ararává:s 'u'ássati', 'imfí-rayá:k su? pó·kri'. 'Ikrivkírap 'ukú·ntaku; su?. Va;s 'upaθxúttapahiti vā·smū·k pamuxvá:a. Pa-te'mfirári:kha;k su?, pe'mússa:n kari ká:n mū·ü·θkám píric tu-'aké·crí·hva', va; 'u:m pupuxwíte 'imfí·nk'yútihařa.

Pakúnic tcím umcipicre·he; pa'a:h, púya va; kari pe'mússa:n 'í'n takunpicrú·nnúpráv. Vura 'u:m kunic tupúffá·thá' pafata-vé·nna:n. Tó·mkí·nváray'va<sup>21</sup> karu vura, karu vura tó·mtcax.

makes the wood. He breaks off a couple of madrone sticks; he does not peel them. He makes the two sticks. Then he ties them together so it will be long. He uses it to hook the fire around with.

Then he makes fire with Indian matches, facing the mountain all the time. Then he sets fire to the wood, that which he has piled. Then he gets in the hole. He is holding two pieces of plant in his hands, with which he is fanning the fire, so it will burn fast. After he has got down inside, he does not come out; when the wood is all burned up, that is the time he comes out. The helper is walking around there, while the fire is burning. He sits in the hole. He has on an Indian blanket, it is so hot in there. He is sitting in there on the disk seat. He has an Indian blanket over him. At times he covers up his head with the blanket. When it gets too hot in the pit, the helper then piles some brush there in front, so that heat does not go on there so strong.

When the fire is about burned out, then they help him [the fatavennan] out. He is about all in, the fatavennan. He is famished, and he is hot, too. Then the helper helps him up out, he

<sup>19</sup> For leaving the poker stick lying by the fire when he leaves the fireplace, see p. 250.

<sup>20</sup> But va;s 'u'ássati', he is wearing a blanket.

<sup>21</sup> Ceremonial word equivalent to to·xxúři.

Va;<sub>22</sub> karixas tupicerū·nsip pe'mús-sa;<sup>a</sup>n, pafatavé·nna;<sub>n</sub> tupicerū·nsip, pa'ámta;<sub>p</sub> va;<sub>n</sub> vura kite to·vó·nti pamú'i<sup>1</sup>c, pa'avaxfurax?ámta;<sup>a</sup>p. Xas pasúrùkkuri takunpíθxùp. Pakú·sr ó·mm'yú·stí', pakar up-várippé;<sub>c</sub> pa'ahíram.

Xas pe'mússa;<sub>n</sub> to·pvá·ram, va;<sub>n</sub> vura ká;<sub>n</sub> tó·psá·mkir pafatavé·nna;<sup>a</sup>n. Po·pikyá·raha'<sup>a</sup>k xasik upvá·rame;c pafatavé·nna;<sup>a</sup>n. Tupihyú·nnic pafatavé·nna;<sup>a</sup>n: "Tcaka'í·mitc 'ík víra 'í·ipahó·vic.<sup>24</sup> Miník nupikrú·nti-haruke'<sup>e</sup>c patakáriha'<sup>a</sup>k. 'Uxxuti': "Xá·tik 'u;<sub>m</sub> vura teaka'í·mitc 'u'íppahu"<sup>u</sup>, na;<sub>n</sub> ta;<sub>y</sub> naníkyáv sáruk." Patc upvá·rame·ca-ha'<sup>a</sup>k,<sup>25</sup> va;<sub>n</sub> kari to·ptáttuykiri pa'ahuptunvé·teás, pa'ahup'ím-pákpá·kkátc, 'a;k to·ptatuykini-háyá·tchá' pa'ahuptunvé·teás, pa-pirictunvé·teás, pó'umpakríppa-nati'. Xas va;<sub>n</sub> 'ahiramyó·ram<sup>26</sup> tupíkk'yú·kkíri pa'uhtatvára'<sup>a</sup>r. Va;<sub>n</sub> vura ká;<sub>n</sub> 'iθé·cya;<sub>v</sub> 'úkú·k-kírihvá', 'ahinámtí'm·mitc. Xas kó·vúra táyav pa'ahirámti'<sup>1</sup>m. Karixas pató·pvárip, pa'ahíram-ma;k. Kárixas pató·pvá·ram.

helps the fatavennan up out.<sup>22</sup> There is dust all over his [the fatavennan's] meat, woodpecker-scarlet red-clay dust.<sup>23</sup> Then they fill up the hole. He is watching the sun to see when he is going to leave that fireplace.

Then the helper starts off; he leaves the fatavennan there. When he finishes up, then the fatavennan will go. He hollers to the fatavennan: "Travel back slow! I'll meet you when the time comes." He thinks: "Let him travel back slow, I have much to tend to downslope." When he is going to go back, he sweeps back in the little pieces of wood, the burned pieces of wood, he sweeps back good into the fire the little pieces of wood, the little pieces of brush, which did not burn. Then he lays the poker stick with its tip to the fire at the yoram of the fire ground. It lies tip to [the fire] all winter there at the fireplace. Then everything is fixed up good at the fireplace ground. Then he gets out from there, from that fire-

<sup>22</sup> He helps the fatavennan up out of the pit by putting his hands under his armpits and pulling him out.

<sup>23</sup> From the fire.

<sup>24</sup> He tells the fatavennan to go slow so he will not get down to the yúxpi'<sup>1</sup>t too early, before the helper has finished with his duties there, and also because the fatavennan is weak. The fatavennan just stays at the fireplace a short time after the helper leaves, but spends some time where he stops to watch the shadow on the way down.

<sup>25</sup> Or: Patcim upvá·rame·ca-ha'<sup>a</sup>k..

<sup>26</sup> 'Ahiramyó·ram, the side of the fireplace ground toward Medicine Mountain. But the other terms designating the sections of the floors of living houses and sweat houses are not used of fireplace grounds.

Xas yí:v sáruk tu'íppahu<sup>u</sup>. Xás va:ká:n 'upú'nváramhítì', 'amtupiteči'vre'rípú'nváram.<sup>27</sup> Xás va:ká:n tó'ppú'n'va. Xás va:'úmmú'sti Pa'a'ú'yítce, 'úθvú'yítive, ká:n 'A'u'yítcač, 'Aktcí'phítihátcħan. Xás va:ká:n patupíkci'práha'<sup>a</sup>k, 'Aktcí'phítihátcħan, kárixas pasáruk tó'pvú'n'n.<sup>28</sup> Yakúnva:kári takáři, sáruk payuxpi'ttak 'upváramníhe'<sup>e</sup>c.

Pícci:p to'pvá'ram pe'mússa:n, yuxpi'ttak to'pvá'ram pícci'<sup>i</sup>p, kó'vúra tupikya'rúsí'p pa'ahírammak, 'a:h tó'kyav, káru va:kumá'i'i uyá'vhíti pe'mússa:n xay pe'kyávansa 'áθe'i kunšiv. Xas pe'krívkir ká:n to'θáric pafatavé'na:n va:ká:n 'upikrí'c-rihe'<sup>e</sup>c. Maruk věnnáram 'upe'θankō'ti pe'krívkir. Vo'krivkíritti patu'ávaha:k pafatavé'na:n ve'nnáram 'ínná'<sup>a</sup>k. Paké've-níkkítcás kunívcí'phiti teaká-'ímmítchiti pe'mússa:<sup>a</sup>n, putcē'tc pikrú'ntihantihára. Hárí mu-kun'ára:r pafatavé'na:n. Ta-kun'íxví'pha'. "Hí' putcē'tc pikrú'ntihantihára, hí 'utcaká-'í'tchítí pemússa:<sup>a</sup>n." Xáy 'ukyivun'ni, tó'mkí'nvaray'va," va:kuníppé'nti'.

Karixas tupíkfú'kra<sup>a</sup>, máruk tupikrú'ntihar pafatavé'na:n. Xas ká:n xas to'kmárihivrik 'ara-

place. Then he goes back. Then he travels a long way downslope. Then there is a resting place there, Amtupitecivreripunvaram. Then he rests there. Then he looks at Sugar Loaf; it [the place] on Sugar Loaf is called Aktciphítihatchan. When the shadow comes up to reach Aktciphítihatchan, then he goes back downslope. Then it is time for him to go back downslope to the yúxpi'<sup>i</sup>t. The helper leaves first for the yúxpi'<sup>i</sup>t, he goes back first, he fixes everything up at the fireplace, he makes the fire. He is in a hurry lest the two girls feel cold. And he puts the disk seat there where the fatavennan is going to sit down. He brings it over from up at the cookhouse. The fatavennan sits on it when he eats in the cookhouse. The old women used to be grumbling because the helper was slow, because he does not hurry to go to meet him. Maybe they are his relatives. They are getting mad. "How slow he is in going to meet the fatavennan, the helper is so slow. He might fall, he is famished," that's what they are saying.

Then he starts back upslope, he goes to meet the fatavennan. Then he meets him there up above

<sup>27</sup> Upslope of Ernest Conrad's house. The fatavennan always sits down under the white oak tree there and leans against its trunk, with eyes fixed on Sugar Loaf.

<sup>28</sup> This brings it about that the fatavennan reaches the yúxpi'<sup>i</sup>t with the sun just up, and always at the same time of day.

ramá·m. Xas xákka:n xas takunpirúvá·kírì 'ahíram. 'Iffuθ 'u'ahó·ti pe'mússa'sn.

Xas takunví·pma', yuxpit?ahí·ram. Yané·kva tátta:y pa'ára'sr, pa'irá·nsa'.

the rancheria. Then both of them come back to the fireplace. The helper walks behind.

Then they get back there, to yúxpi't fireplace. Behold there are many people there, Irahiv attenders.

XIX. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·hé·ratihat pe·hé·raha po·kuphákka·m-ha'ak<sup>1</sup>

(HOW THEY SMOKED TOBACCO AT THE GHOST DANCE<sup>1</sup>)

A full account in text has been obtained of the coming of the ghost dance to the Karuk in 1870, but will be published elsewhere. Both Karuk and White man tobacco and styles of smoking were constantly indulged in. The forcing of young children in attendance at the dances to smoke was a feature entirely novel to the Karuk; see the text below; also page 215.

The following text describes smoking at the ghost "sings" in general:

Há·ri vura mit súppá·ha ka'íru pakunparúl·vana·tiha<sup>t</sup>,<sup>1a</sup> 'ikxaram 'u:m vura hitíha:n mit.

'Ikxurar, papúva xay 'i·hvá-na<sup>2</sup>p, piccítc xánnahite vura kunpíppú·nvuti, karixas pícei:p takun·ihérana<sup>a</sup>, kó·vúra pata-kun·ihé·rana<sup>a</sup>, pa'asiktává·nsa káru vúra. Kó·vúra pa'axí:tc káru vura takin·ihé·ra·vaθ, takinippé·r ki·hé·ri. Karixas patakunpakú-ri·hvana<sup>a</sup>, yíθθa piccítc tu'ári-hícri papákkuři, kúkku:m takun-píppú·n'va, pataxxáraha:k pe·k-xáram kúkku:m kari takunpí-pú·n'va. Kari k'yúkku:m kó·vúra takunpihé·rana<sup>a</sup>. Kari k'yúkku:m takunpi·hvana<sup>a</sup>, takunpipakú·rh-vana<sup>a</sup>. Te·kxaram·áppapvari kari takunkó·ha', pate·kxaram-·áppapváriha<sup>a</sup>k.

They used sometimes to dance in the daytime [at the Ghost dance], but it was nights that they danced all the time.

In the evening before they dance, first they rest for a while. At that time the first thing they do is to smoke; all of them smoke, the women folks also. All the children, also, they force to smoke; they tell them, "You fellows smoke." Then when they sing, one of them first starts the song. Then again they rest, when it is well along in the evening. Then all of them smoke again. Then again they dance, again they sing. At the middle of the night is the time they quit, when the night is already at its half.

<sup>1</sup> Also translated "round dance."

<sup>1a</sup> The Indians called it "sing," not "dance."

## XX. Pahú't mit kunkupe'hérahitiha'pa'arare'θtittahiv

(HOW THEY SMOKED AT INDIAN CARD GAMES)

The principal gambling game of the Karuk is "Indian cards," a form of the hand game, which is accompanied by singing and drumming. The game was intense, luck medicine opposing luck medicine, and considerable property being constantly involved. There used to be much passing around of the pipe at these gambling assemblages, but it was considered unbusinesslike for one to smoke while in the act of gambling.

Pámitva taxxaravé'ttak ve'θ-tittá'nsa púmit 'ihé'ratihaphat pakuniθti'tvana'tiha'k, pata-kunl'é'ric xas mit víra takuni-hé'er.<sup>1</sup> Pe'muskínvá'nsa va;<sup>2</sup> 'u;mkun 'ík<sup>2</sup> kunihé'ratihaf. Payé'm vura kó'víra takunihé'rana'ti', 'apxantí'te'i'hé'raha'.

In the old times the Indian card players did not smoke while they were playing. When they got through, then they smoked. The onlookers smoked now and then. Now all smoke—White man tobacco.

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<sup>1</sup> Or va; mit víra karixas kunihé'ratihat patakunl'é'ricriha'k instead of these five words.

<sup>2</sup> Or va; nik mit 'u;mkun instead of these three words.

XXI. Payiθúva kó; kuma'án'nav, pakú:k teú:ph u'ú:mmahiti  
pehé:rahak

(VARIOUS FORMULÆ WHICH MENTION TOBACCO)

1. Kitaxrihara'araraxusipmúrukkařihé:tar<sup>1</sup>

(PROTECTIVE SMOKING MEDICINE OF THE [KATIMIN] WINGED IKXARE-YAV)

The following formula is Kitaxrihar medicine used for protecting one against his enemies. It relates how one of the class of savage Ikxareyavs, called Kitaxrihars, lit. Winged Ones, dwelling at Katimin, with his tobacco smoke overcame "Him Who Travels Above Us," the Sun. No greater power is attributed in Karuk mythology to any person or substance than that here related of tobacco.

Hú:ka hinupa 'i:m, 'i:m 'Ó:k 'Iθivθanē:n'a:tcip Vaké:m'mic. Pakó:kkáninàv vúra Vaké:m'micas 'í:n kuníppá:n'nik: "Na: ník ní:kk'yáre'c." Teávúra puffá:t 'í:n pí:k'yárvavaraphaňik. Va: mú:ràx kiče 'ixxútihaňik: "Na: kárù Ké:m'mic." Viri k'yó:vúra 'í:n 'ixússé:ràphàník: "Na: ník ní:kk'yáre'c," pavúra kó:kkáninàv Vaké:m'mic. Káruma 'i:m k'yar ixússá:n'nik: "Na: kárù Ké:m'mic. Na: puraffá:t 'í:n vúra né:kk'yáre'chářà. Na: kárù Ké:m'mic."

Xás ta:ifútctí:m'mite. Kó:vúra 'í:n takuníkyá:varihva', pakunxúti': "Kirinúyk'yář." Vúra takunípce'e:k. Púffá:t 'í:n vúra té:kk'yátap. Xas ta:ifútctí:m'mite, Páynanu'ávahkam'áhō:tih-àñ,'uppí:p:"Na: xásikní:kk'yáre'c. yakún na: píric tápa:n vura ní:kk'

Where art thou, thou Savage One of the Middle of the World Here? The Savage Ones of every place said: "I will kill him." They never killed thee. All that thou didst was to think: "I too am a Savage One." They all thought: "I will kill thee," the Savage Ones of every place. Thou thoughtst: "I too am a Savage One. Nothing can kill me. I too am a Savage One."

Then the last one [the last Savage One] came. All had tried to kill him, thinking: "Would that we could kill him." They could not kill him. Nothing could kill him. Then the last one, He Who Travels Above Us, said: "I will kill him. Even

<sup>1</sup> Or kitaxrihare'hé:tar, what the Winged One smoked with. 'Araraxusipmúrukkař, protective medicine, which keeps the user from being killed by medicine pronounced against him.

k'árott'i'. Na; kó·mahítc víra tanímm'yú·stí', yati kun'lé·yic, pa-tanímm'yú·stihá'a·k. Yáník pan-nyupatc uvé·hrúpramtiha'a·k, ka-ri takun'lá·vána·a. "Víri na; ni-xxútí: Na; xásík nípi·kk'yárává-ré'e·c."

Karixas 'uxxus, 'Ó·k 'Iθivθané·n-á·ttcip Vaké·m'mic, xas 'uxxus: "Hú·t 'átá pánik'yúphé'e·c?" 'Ó·k 'Iθivθané·n·l·a·tcip Vaké·m'mic tu-á·pún'ma: "Káruma tanavé·t.-cip Paynanu'avahkam'áhō·tihán 'í·n."

Xas 'u'é·θricùk pamu'úhra'a·m, 'uxxus: "Na; kárù Ké·míc." 'Uxxus: "Na; kárù ták;y nanihé-ráhá', na; kár ikpíhan nanihé·ra-há'." Teavura tapá·npay tó·mkü·hrúpráv. Xás 'ùxxús: "Sá·m 'ickyé·cti·m víra kú;k ní·ú·m-mé'e·c." Ta'ittam va; kú;k 'u-ú·mmahé'en. Xánnahicite vúr'u-túrá·y'va. Yánava ká·n 'uyá-hítí', 'asívcúruk, 'ick'yé·ctim?asiv-cúruk. Tó·mkü·hrúpráv.

'Á·ya ta'ittam 'uhé·ráhè'en. Xás 'ùxxús: "Na; kárù Ké·míc. Na; nix'úti': "Na; púva 'í·n na-pí·kk'yáráváre·cà·rà, pó·msákka-raha:k pananihé·rahá'mku'uf." Vúrav uhé·ratí'. Teávúra ta-pá·npay túvárupráv Pakú'sra'. Xánnahicite pó·ptúrāy'va, 'Ó·k 'Iθivθané·n·l·a·tcip Vaké·m'mic. Vurav uhé·ratí'. Píkcíp k'yúnic tuvakúrí'hva paxumpí·θvan pe-θivθá·nné'en. Ta'á·vánñihitc 'úkri': "Púya 'í·n níppa'at, hó·y 'if 'í·m 'í·n napi·kk'yárvare'e·c." Hínupa tó·myú·mni pe·hé·rahá·m-

bushes I kill. I look at the bushes a little while, and behold they fall over, as I look at them. I think: I can kill him."

Then he thought, he the Savage One of the Middle of the World Here, then he thought: "What shall I do?" The Savage One of the Middle of the World Here knew: "He Who Travels Above Us is already starting to attack me this [day]."

Then he took out his tobacco pipe, he thought: "I too am a Savage One." He thought: "I have much smoking tobacco, and my tobacco is strong." Then presently there was heat coming up [from the east]. Then he thought: "I will go downslope to the edge of the river." Then he went thither. He looked around for a while. Behold there was a good place there, under an overhanging rock, by the edge of the river under an overhanging rock. There was heat coming up.

Behold then he started to smoke. And he thought: "I too am a Savage One. I think: He will not kill me, when he smelleth my tobacco smoke." He kept smoking. Then presently the Sun came up. For a little while he looked around, the Savage One of the Middle of the World Here. He kept smoking. Dimness was entering the deep places [the gulches and canyons] of the earth. He [the Sun] was already high. "Indeed, I said it, in no wise canst thou kill me." Behold

ku<sup>uf</sup>, Pakú'sra'. "Víri táva 'í'n ná'ā pūnmáhà'ak, púrafá't vúra 'í'n 'íkk'áré·cáp." Púya 'í:m vé·ppá'n'nik, 'í:m 'ó:k Iéivθanéñ·rà·tcip Vaké'm'mic.

Káru 'u:m vó·ppá'n'nik, Pay-nanu'ávahkam'áhō·tihán: "Pún-hinupa fá't 'í'n pí·k'yárváre·cáp."

2. Pahú·t mit kunkupe·hē·rahiti-hat pamukúnvá·ssan takunmá-ha<sup>a</sup>k

Píccí:p tuhyanákku:<sup>c</sup> pe·hē·ra-ha'. Xas va<sup>a</sup> vur 'usá·nvúti'. Xas pato·mmáhá:k pa'í'n kunví-hiti', 'á·ppun tò·krí·c. Xas tu-hé<sup>e</sup>r. "Kíri va<sup>a</sup> 'u:m sákkai, pa'í· naví-hiti', kír u:m sákkai. Pu'ipharia yapú·mmáhè·cà·rà, páva 'u:m sákkaraha<sup>a</sup>k panani-hé·rahá·mku<sup>uf</sup>." Puxútihap vúra va<sup>a</sup> fá't patuhé<sup>e</sup>r, kunxúti vúra 'u:m tuhé<sup>e</sup>r.

3. Pahú·t Ví·tví:t ukúphá·n'nik<sup>b</sup>, pamaruk'arara'í'n kinθáffipanik pamutúnvi<sup>1</sup>v, pahú·t 'uku-pe·hē·raha<sup>a</sup>nik

'Ukní. 'Ata háriva kun?árá·rahitiha<sup>a</sup>nik.

'Itró·p pamutúnvi·vha<sup>a</sup>nik Ví·tví:t,<sup>2</sup> kó·vúra 'afícnihannitcas-ha<sup>a</sup>nik. Pamukun'íkmahátera<sup>c</sup>m kun?árá·rahitiha<sup>a</sup>nik, pamukun-lákka kó·vá. Pá·npay tcavúra<sup>3</sup> takké·tcas, takun?ákkúnvá·nhí-ná<sup>a</sup>.

Karixas 'iθá:n kumamáhí:t kó-vúra kun?ákkunvan'va. Xas 'ík-xurar pakunpavyíhuk, yánava yíθea purafáttá<sup>a</sup>k. Hínupa yíθea tapu'íppaka<sup>a</sup>ra.

the Sun swooned away from the tobacco smoke. "He that knows my way will never be killed." Thou saidst it, Thou Savage One of the Middle of the World Here.

And he too, He Who Travels Above Us, said: "Behold nobody will kill him."

(HOW THEY SMOKED WHEN THEY SAW AN ENEMY)

First he prays over the tobacco. Then he packs it around. Then if he sees somebody that hates him, he sits down on the ground. . . . Then he smokes. "Would that he smell it, he who hates me, would that he smell it. He will not live another year, if he smells it, my tobacco smoke." They do not think that there is anything to his smoking, they think he is just smoking.

(WHAT LONG-BILLED DOWITCHER DID WHEN THE MOUNTAIN GIANT ATE UP HIS CHILDREN, HOW HE SMOKED)

Ukni. They were living there for a long time.

Long-billed Dowitcher had five children, all of them boys. They lived in their sweathouse, together with their father. Then later on they were already big children, old enough to hunt.

Then one morning all of them went out hunting. Then when they came back that evening, behold one of them was missing. Behold one did not come back.

<sup>2</sup> The Long-billed Dowitcher, (*Say*). *Limnodromus griseus scolopaceus*

<sup>3</sup> Or *tcavura* *pá·npay*.

Kúkku:m 'im'yá:n kun'ákkunvan'va. Kúkku:m vura yíθθa puxay 'íppakařa.

Xas kúkku:m vura 'im'yá:n kun'ákkunvan'va. Kúkku:m vura yíθθa puxay 'íppakařa.

Xas kúkku:m vura 'im'yá:n posúppá:ha kun'ákkunvan'va. Kúkku:m vura 'íkxurar yánava yíθθa purafátt'a:k, tapu'íppakařa.

Pukúnic xútihara hú:t papih-ní:tcí:tc. Yítte:tc kítc to:sá:m. Xás va: vur u'ákkun'var káruma tapáttce:tc. Karixas kúmata:tc puxay vura 'íppakara 'íkxurár.

Ká:rim vura to:xxus Vi:tvitpihní:tc, ká:rim vura to:xxus, tapúffa:st pamutúnvi:v. Xas 'im'yá:n posúppá:hà xas papih-ní:tcite uxus: "Tcímí k'yanpáp-píván'vi maník na: kar Ikkaré:ya:v. Fá:t 'ata 'í:n pa'é:tu:n takinpíkyav." Karixas pamu'akavákkir kítc 'u'é:θθùnì:<sup>4</sup> karu pamu'úhra:m vura kite 'u'é:eθ. Karixasmáruk 'úkfú:krá:. Tce:m:yá:teva kite 'upihé:ratí'. Yí:v máruk tu'áhu". Xas ká:n ukrf:c:ri'. Víri pammáruk páy 'úkù:phá'. Tcimaxmay máruk 'Ikxaré:yav 'ukví:rippùnì. Karixás uxus: "Káruma va: 'ata páy 'í:n<sup>5</sup> pananitúnvi:v 'í:n ta'é:tu:n kinpíkyav." Tcavura pá:npay ta:ú:mukite 'u'ú:m, pa'ípa máru kúkví:ripunihanhat.<sup>6</sup> Karixas ká:n 'u'ú:m. Xas upí:p: "Pami:túnvi:v 'at ipáppimvana:ti."

The next day they went hunting again. Again one did not come back.

Then on the next day they went hunting again. Again one did not come back.

Then the next day they went hunting again. Again in the evening one was missing, did not come back.

It was as if the old man never noticed. There was just one left. Then he went hunting, even alone. Then that night he did not come back in the evening.

Long-billed Dowitcher Old Man felt awfully bad, he felt awfully bad, he did not have any more boys. Then when morning came, then the old man thought: "Let me go to look for them, I, too, am an Ikkareyav. I wonder what it is that cleaned us out." Then he just took down his quiver, and took his pipe. Then he climbed upslope. Every once in a while he smoked. He went a long way. Then he sat down there. Then he looked upslope. Then behold upslope an Ikkareyav came running down. Then he thought: "I guess this is the one who cleaned out my sons." Then he came near, he who had come running down from upslope. Then he came there. Then he said: "I guess you are looking for your children." Then he

<sup>4</sup> From where it was hanging.

<sup>5</sup> Or 'í:n páy for pay 'í:n.

<sup>6</sup> From máruk kuh 'ukví:ripunihanhat.

Xas upī:p: "Káruma na; Maruk-  
yára;r.<sup>7</sup> Kunipítti i:m pammítúnvi:v tapúffa'a:t." Puxay víra  
'ihívrk'yára, ... pakuntecuphuníc  
k'yó:tí.

Xás víra tutcuphunícky'u, xas  
upé'r: "Teimi pananixuská:mhár  
'á:ksuń." Xas u'áxxay. Kó:ma-  
hitc vur u'affi:, 'áxxak xas uphícc-  
cip. Xas kúnice tu'ây Pámáruk'yá-  
ra;r. Patcví:v u:m vura pukú-  
nic fá:txútihára, káruma 'u:m  
ní:namiá:ctc. Káruma 'u:m víra  
ník tu'á:pún'ma: "Va: 'ín pana-  
nitúnvi:v pa'éru:n takinpíkyav."  
Sú? vo:xúti'.

Xas Pamaruk'yára:r 'upī:p:  
"Tcími panani'úhra:m va; kun<sup>8</sup>  
ihé:ri."<sup>9</sup> Xas 'u'áxxay. Kúk-  
ku:m víra vo:kú:pha', 'áxxak xas  
uphíccip pa'uhrá:m.

Xas Pamaruk'yára:r 'uxxus:  
"Tcími kaníkfú:kkíra:a, manik-  
ní:namíte." Ká:n 'u:m 'á:pun  
xas úkfúkkíra:a. Hínupa súrukam  
tu'árihík. Puxay vura mahá:ra,  
kó:va 'u:m ní:namítc. Karuma  
'u:m máruk tó:kvíripúra:a.

Tcávúra yí:v máruk to:kvíri-  
púra:a. Yánavá ká:n pará:m'var.  
Ta'íttam uphíccipre:he:n papá-  
rā:m'var. Tcávúra yí:v máruk  
tó:kfú:krá:a. Xas sáruk 'upitfák-

said: "I am a Mountain Person.  
They say you have not any  
children any more." He did  
not answer, when he was being  
talked to.

Then he kept on talking to  
him, he told him: "Shoot my  
bow." Then he took it. He  
touched it a little bit; he picked  
it up as two pieces. It looked  
like the Mountain Person was  
afraid of him. It looked like  
that bird never thought anything  
[in the way of fear], and at the  
same time he was small. He  
knew: "That is the one who has  
cleaned out my sons." He  
thought that inside.

Then the Mountain Person  
said: "Now smoke my pipe."  
Then he took it. He did the  
same thing again, picked it up  
as two pieces.

Then the Mountain Person  
thought: "Let me catch hold of  
him, he is small." He just caught  
hold of the ground there. Behold  
he jumped under him [through  
by the Mountain Person's legs].  
He did not even see him, he was  
so small. He [Long-billed Dow-  
itcher] was running upslope.

Then he ran far upslope. Be-  
hold there was a wedge there.  
Then he picked up that wedge.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. Upslope Person. Persons of this race were hairy, large, strong, stupid, crude, and were sometimes seen by the Indians in the woods. They lived in rocky dells far upslope. Some of the younger Indians call them "gorillas."

<sup>8</sup> Kuña means now in turn (after breaking my bow), the next thing, and shows that Mountain Person was mad.

<sup>9</sup> Tamtírák, Fritz Hansen's mother's brother, used to say: Xuskám-  
har 'u:m puné:hró:vica:ra, nani'úhra:m 'u:m nihró:vic, I won't use  
my bow, I'll use my pipe (to kill anybody).

kuti'. Viri kuna sáruk upík-fú:kra; Maruk'ára'a;r, sáruk. Tá-pas u'á:ytíháñik. Xas va; ká:n 'ummá 'ásákká:msa'. Ta'íttam vo:paraksúrō:hé:n pa'ás.<sup>10</sup> Xas 'úpē:nváná; pa'ás: "Sáruk kik-řiruvó:rúnñi'hvi'." Ta'íttam vo:θántcárassahé:n passáruk pik-fú:krá:tiháñ. 'Uθantcarastcáras, passáruk pikfú:krá:tiháñ.

Karixas 'úkfú:krá:a. 'Upáppim-váná:tí pamutúnvi'v. 'Uxúti': "Maník yaxé:k víra nípmáhe:c pamukun'íppi'." Teavura yí:v máruk tu'u:m, vikitkircúruk. Yánava ká:n. Viri xánnahite vur utúrā:y'va. Yánava kipa tcántca:f unámpí'θvá pamukun'íppi'. Puya vo:xxus: "Va; hínupa 'ó:k páy pannanitúnvi:v 'é:ru:n takinpíkyav."

Kárixas kó:vúra 'upifikáyá:tc-há:, pamukun'íppi'. Yánava ká:n 'úkra:m u'i:θra'. Ta'íttam va; ká:n 'upubankúrihvae'en.

Kárixas upvá:ram. Puya va;xas u'i:pma', pamukrívra'a:m. Viri taxánnahicite yiθumásva ku-nipvó:nfurukti. Hínupa va; ká:n su? takunpímtá:mváná; pókrá:m sú?. Hínupáy<sup>11</sup> takunpávyíhuk pamukun'íkrívrá:a:m.

Kupánnakanakana. Puya va; Vítvi:t ukúphá:n'ník, upónvú:k-kánik pamutúnvi'v. Tcé:mya:tc 'ík vír Icyá:t 'imcf'nná:víc. Nanivássi vírav e:kiniyá:tc. Tcé:mya:tc 'ík víra 'Atáytcuk-kinaté 'í:ú:nnúprave'e:c.

Then far upslope he went. Then he looked downslope. Down-slope Mountain Person was coming back up, downslope. He was not afraid of him. Then he saw some big rocks there. Then he was wedging off rocks. Then he told the rocks: "Ye slide downslope!" Then the rocks mashed the one downslope who was coming back up. They mashed him all up, him downslope who was coming up.

Then he climbed up. He was looking for his children. He thought: "I might find the bones." Then he got a long way up, under the ridge. Behold they were there. He looked around for a while. Behold their bones were scattered so white. Then he thought: "This is where they cleaned out my children."

Then he picked them all up, their bones. He saw a lake was lying there. Then he soaked them in there.

Then he went back. Then he got home, to his living house. Then a little later they were all coming back in [into the living house] one at a time. Behold they got alive in there in the lake. Behold it was that they all came back to their living house.

Kupánnakanakana. Long-billed Dowitcher did that, brought back his children. Shine early, Spring Salmon, hither up-river. My back is straight. Grow early, Spring Cacomite.

<sup>10</sup> An Ikxareyav could do anything.

<sup>11</sup> Or hínupa páy.

4. Kahθuxrivick'yúruhar mutun-  
ve·rahappíric, pá 'u:m vúra va;  
muppíric upikyá:ník pamu-  
'úhra'a:m

(KAHOUXRIVICK'YURUHAR'S CHILD-  
BIRTH MEDICINE, HOW HE USED  
HIS PIPE AS MEDICINE)

Hú:ka hinupa 'i:m Karuk  
'Ieivθané:íppan Vaθuxrivick'yú-  
ruhař? Karuk řeivθané:n'íppan  
'i:aramsí:pré'n'nik. 'I:m vúr  
'i:áhō:tihàník. Yúruk 'iθiv-  
θané:n'íppan 'ivá:rámmùtihàník.

Karixas 'ó:k 'iθivθané:n'á:tcíp  
'ivá:rámñihàník. Yánava pe:k-  
xaré:yav vura takunimfipicni-  
háyá:tcha', pa'ané:kyává:nsá'.  
Karixas 'ípéràphàník: "Ó:k  
'Ixxaré:yav tcim u'í:kk'yámà-  
hè:c.<sup>12</sup> Pe:kxaré:yav kó:vúra  
va; ká:n tácháník, pa'ané:kyá-  
vá:nsá'. Xas Kahθuxrivick'yúru-  
har 'uppí:p: "Na; kár 'Ixxaré-  
yař." Xas uxus: "Káruma-  
na; nani'úhra:m vúra kite nuxák-  
ká:nhítí', va; kar Ixxaré:yav."  
Xas 'í:nná:k 'uvð:nfírùk. Tu-  
xáxxanna:ti vúra. Xas pamu'úhra-  
:m 'u'ě:θrícùk.<sup>13</sup> Xas 'uppí:p:  
"Na; kar Ixxaré:yař. Na; vura  
páy nanixé:hva:s 'í:ník napipca-  
ravríkke:c." Ta'íttam kú:k  
'u'ú:mmáhe'en. Kárixas 'u-  
paθakhí:críhè:n<sup>14</sup> mu'íffuθká:m.  
Xas 'upíppur pamu'úhra:a:m.  
Xas uppí:p: "Na; kar Ixxaré-  
yař." Karixas 'úsyú:nkiv pa-  
mu'úhra:a:m, teaka'í:mitc vura  
pó:syú:nkívtí', pó:tcú:phíti'.<sup>15</sup>  
"Xas nani'úhra:m, teimi Pe:k-  
xaré:yav kamtunvé:rahi." Viri

Where art thou, Θouxrivick'yuru-  
har of the Upriver End of the  
World? Thou camest from the  
upriver end of the world. He  
was walking along. He was go-  
ing downriver to the lower end of  
the world.

Then thou didst enter the mid-  
dle place of the world here. Be-  
hold all the Ixxareyavs had all  
gathered there, the brush doctors.  
Then they told thee: "An Ixxa-  
reyav here is about to go outside."  
All the Ixxareyavs were there,  
the brush doctors. Then Upriver  
Θouxrivick'yuruhar said: "I, too,  
am an Ixxareyav." Then he  
thought: "I am just along with  
my pipe. I am an Ixxareyav,  
too." Then he went inside.  
They were just crying. Then he  
took his pipe out [of his basketry  
quiver]. Then he said: "I am an  
Ixxareyav, too. This my pipe  
sack can help me." Then he  
went over to her. Then he knelt  
at her feet. Then he untied his  
pipe. Then he said: "I am an  
Ixxareyav, too." Then he pulled  
his pipe out [of his pipe sack], just  
slowly he was pulling it out, talk-  
ing. "Then my pipe, may this  
Ixxareyav give birth to the child."  
Then he pulled out his pipe,  
then all at once behold a baby

<sup>12</sup> Mg. is going to die.

<sup>13</sup> Or ník 'í:n.

<sup>14</sup> With both knees on the floor, at the feet of the sick woman, who  
was lying on the floor.

<sup>15</sup> He pulled the pipe out of the pipe sack little by little.

pó·syú·nkìv pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m, tci-maxmáy 'axí:tc 'úxrař. Xas 'ùx-xùs: "Na; hinupa kitc 'Ikxa-re'yav. Viri Yá·síára 'u:m karu vura vo·kuphé'<sup>e</sup>c, táva; 'í· ná'á·púnamaha'<sup>a</sup>k. Yá·síára 'u:m karu víra píric upikyá·vic pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m."<sup>16</sup> Púya 'u:m vó·phá'n'-ník Kahθuxrivick'yúruhař.

Víri na; kitc 'í· nu'á·púnmuti'. Púya 'i:m vé·phá'n'nik, Kahθuxrivick'yúruhař: "Yá·síára 'u:m káru vura va; píric 'upikyá·vic pamu'úhra'<sup>a</sup>m, patáva; 'í·n ná'á·púnmhà'<sup>a</sup>k." 'I:m ve·k'yú-phá'n'nik, Kahθuxrivick'yúruhař.

cried. Then he thought: "I am the best Ikkareyav, Human will do the same, if he knows about me. Human also will make brush with his pipe." Upriver Θuxrivick'yuruhar said it.

I only know about thee. Behold thou didst say it, Upriver Θuxrivick'yuruhar: "Human will again make his pipe into brush, whoever knows about me." Thus thou didst, Upriver Θuxrivick'yuruhar.

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<sup>16</sup> For only brush is addressed in brush medicine, and he addressed his pipe.

XXII. 'Thé·rah uθvuykírahina·ti yiθúva kumátcú·pha'.

(VARIOUS NAMES WHICH MENTION TOBACCO)

1. Pehé·rahá·mva'ən.

(THE "TOBACCO EATER" [BIRD])

A bird, identified from pictures in Dawson's Birds of California and elsewhere as Nuttall's Whippoorwill, *Phalaenoptilus nuttalli nuttalli* Audubon, is named 'ihé·rahá·mva'ən, tobacco eater.<sup>1</sup> Descriptions of its habits also fit those of the whippoorwill. None of the informants have known why the bird is so called, or whether it is said to have eaten tobacco or its seed in reality or in the realm of myths. The appearance of the bird's back has given rise to a basket design name; see below.

A. Pahú·t kunkupasó·mkirahanik  
'a:t paye·ripáxvú·hsa', xas  
'ihé·rahá·mva:n karu puxá·k-  
kite kuníppá·nik: "Nu:  
'a:at"

'Ukní:. 'Ata háriva kun?árá·ra-  
hitihánič.

Va:  
kunkupítti pamukunív-  
ří·hk'yám, ata hó:y u'ipanhivó·hiti  
pamukuntáxyé'əm.<sup>2</sup> 'A:t<sup>3</sup> mu-  
'ivíová·yk'yám 'u:m 'axra 'ík-  
sá·pkù". Va:  
kite Kunipóivθa-  
kúrá·nnátì pamarukké·ttcas,<sup>4</sup> pa-  
muk taktakahe·nkinínná·ssítc.  
Karu 'áxxak va:  
ká:n muppí·mitc

HOW THE MAIDENS CAME TO MARRY  
SPRING SALMON, AND HOW  
NIGHTHAWK AND "TOBACCO  
EATER" SAID THEY WERE  
SPRING SALMON

Ukni. They were living there.

They fixed their yards so that one could not see the end of their yards. In front of Spring Salmon's house there was a dead tree leaning. The western Pileated Woodpeckers just kept walking up flutteringly, his Western Pileated Woodpecker pets. And there were

<sup>1</sup> The bird most closely resembling 'ihé·rahá·mva'ən is said to be púxxa'ək, the Pacific Nighthawk, *Chordeiles minor hesperis* Grinnell.

<sup>2</sup> taxyé'əm, old word equivalent to 'ivří·hk'yám. They claim that a wide and cleanly kept bare plot in front of a living house is the only way one can tell if a man is a Ya:s?ára (rich person). The myths make frequent mention of these nicely kept yards.

<sup>3</sup> 'A:'at, name in the myths of 'icyá'at, Spring Salmon.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. upslope big one, by-name for 'iktakatákkahe'ən (so called because he hollers tak tak), Western Pileated Woodpecker, *Phlaeotomus pileatus picinus* Bangs.

uvúmni pe'krívra'<sup>a</sup>m, yíθθa Púx-xa<sup>k</sup><sup>5</sup> mukrívra<sup>m</sup><sup>6</sup> karu yíθθa 'Ihē·rahá·mva<sup>a</sup>n.<sup>7</sup> 'U<sup>z</sup>mkun 'áxxak vura ká·nnímítcás pakunkupá·ínnáhítí'. 'U<sup>z</sup>mkun 'áxxak vura ká·nnímítcashañik. : 'A<sup>z</sup>t 'u<sup>z</sup>m vura pe'kre'yé·ci·phàník.

Tcavura pá·npay káruk 'áxxak kun'íruvárákkanik 'ifáppi'ttcá', 'A<sup>z</sup>t kunsó·mkirarukti'. Vura nik takiníppé·ranik Pa'a<sup>z</sup>t mukrívra<sup>m</sup> umússahiti'.

Xas patcímik'un<sup>z</sup>ú·mē·cànìk, xas ká·n 'Ihē·rahá·mva<sup>a</sup>n kunik-márihivrik<sup>y</sup>añik.<sup>8</sup> Vura 'u<sup>z</sup>m yá·mitcas pa'ifáppi'tca'. Xas yíθθ upí·p, paní·n'namite: "Tcími nupatánví·ci", náppípli: Hó·y vari Pá'a<sup>z</sup>t 'úkri'?"<sup>9</sup> Karixas kún-patán'víč. Karixas upí·p: "Mán víra va<sup>z</sup> kummáhe<sup>e</sup>c, súva 'ím 'axra 'úksá·pku 'ivíθvá·yk<sup>y</sup>ám. Tcimi maté· 'ó·k vura kí·kí·n'ní, xas ik kári ku'íruváttakrahe<sup>e</sup>c.<sup>10</sup> Va<sup>z</sup> 'u<sup>z</sup>m yav pe'kxurar vari xas ik ku'ú·mmaha<sup>a</sup>k." Karixas 'u<sup>z</sup>m u'íppahu', pa'ípa kunik-márihivrika<sup>z</sup>, 'uparatánmähpá'. Xas ká·n kó·mahite kun'ínní·c.

Kárixas kún'áhu<sup>u</sup>. Karixas kun'íruváttakra pe'niyahíram. Xas kúkku<sup>z</sup>m yíθθa paní·n'namite 'uppí·p: "Máva 'ó·k,

two living houses standing near by, one Pacific Nighthawk's and one Nuttall's Poorwill's living house. They were making a poor living, those two. Those two were poor people. But Spring Salmon lived rich.

Then after a while two girls came down from upriver, to apply for marriage with Spring Salmon. They had been told what Spring Salmon's house looked like.

Then when they were about to arrive, they met Nuttall's Poorwill. They were nice-looking girls. Then one of them said, the youngest one: "Let's ask him, let's say: 'Where does Spring Salmon live?'" Then they asked him. Then he said: "Ye will see there is a dead tree setting outside in front of the house. Ye stay here a while and then go in there. It will be good if ye get there toward evening." Then he went back, the one that they had met, he turned back. Then they sat down there for a while.

Then they traveled. Then they entered the rancheria. Then the younger one said: "Here it is, here is Spring Salmon's living

<sup>5</sup> Púxxa<sup>a</sup>k, Pacific Nighthawk, *Chordeiles minor hesperis* Grinnell. Also puxá·kki<sup>z</sup>c.

<sup>6</sup> The living houses of these two men were just downriver from Spring Salmon's living house, in the same row. This row of houses lay where John Pepper's hogpen is now, in the downriver part of Katimin rancheria.

<sup>7</sup> 'Ihē·rahá·mva<sup>a</sup>n, Nuttall's Poorwill, *Phalaenoptilus nuttalli nuttalli* (Audubon).

<sup>8</sup> Or kunikmárihiv'rik.

<sup>9</sup> Or vári pó·kri· 'A<sup>z</sup>at.

<sup>10</sup> Into the rancheria, into the house row.

máva 'ó·k Pá'a:t mukrívra'a:m. Máv axra 'úksá·pkù'.<sup>11</sup> Xas 'ínná:k kunlíruvó:nfúruk. Yá-nav ó·kri'. Yánava taprárahak 'ukú:nnámnihvà'. Hínupa 'u:m yíθθuk 'u'ávarahe:n<sup>12</sup> patapráfa, yíθθuk kumékrívra'a:m, 'A:t mu-krívra'a:m.<sup>13</sup> Va: ká:n 'úkri'. 'Upakuníhví:tevúti'.<sup>14</sup> Kárixas 'as kuníppáric. Teimaxmay ku-níhyiv 'í·kk'am: "Puxá·kkítc, namtíri pifápta:nñárùki".<sup>15</sup> "Yæ-hæh,<sup>16</sup> tcími 'ó·k vura kí·kí'l'm'nì. Takané·hyú:n'nic, kané·ppé·nti': 'Teimi paxyé·ttárùki'.<sup>17</sup> Karixas 'ík víra kunláfifice'c, pánipax-yé·tmárahá'k." Xas u'árih-rupuk. Karixas kunpúhyan pa-só:mvá:nsás. Xas yíθθ uppí:p pa'ifáppi't: "Na: 'íp niθíttívat, 'íp k'yúníppé·rát: "Pifápta:n-nñárùhkì namtíri." Teó: numús-sa:n."<sup>18</sup> Xas payíθθ upí:p: "Na:nixúti tánüssir. Hó:y 'if 'átá vâ:pày Pá'a:t." Yánava pa'ás po'viraxvíraxti' paparamvará:as. Karixas 'á:pun vura tupifápsí:p-rin pa'amva'ictunvé'etc. Karixas panamtíri kun o'páttaríp. Teimaxmay kunteú'pha', axmay kunn-pí:p: "Yæ·hæh, 'akkáray panam-kinínná:sítc. 'u'aficé·nnétihc'en?<sup>19</sup> Yáxa Puxá·kkite' muvñí:h-k'am xas úksá·pkù'. Yáxa náni-taprára karu tu'úrupukahe'en." Xas yíθθ 'upí:p: "Hå:, tcimi

house. Here is the dead tree leaning." Then they went inside the living house. He was there. He was sitting on a tule mat. It was that he had gone to another place to get that tule mat, to another living house, to Spring Salmon's living house. He was sitting there. He was singing for fun. Then they put the [boiling] stones in the fire. Then all at once they hollered outside: "Pacific Nighthawk, come and clean out the wooden plate." "Ah, ye stay here. They hollered to me, they are telling me: 'Come and divide it.' Only then they will touch it, after I get through dividing it." Then he sprang out of the house. Then the girl applicants talked together. Then one girl said: "I heard them tell him: 'Come and clean out the wooden plate.' Let's go and see." Then the other one said: "I think we have made a mistake. I do not think this is the Spring Salmon." Behold he was licking off the stones, the salmon boiling stones. Then he ate up the pieces of salmon meat on the ground. Then he cleaned out the wooden plate. Then all at once there was talking, all at once somebody said: "Ah, who was bothering my pets? Look here, it is leaning outside of

<sup>11</sup> He had gone to get it. Ct. tu'ávar, he went to get it.

<sup>12</sup> He was singing by himself to amuse himself, as he sprawled on the tule mat.

<sup>13</sup> Mg. to clean out, using mouth, tongue, hands or in any way.

<sup>14</sup> Man's interjection of glad surprise.

<sup>15</sup> Referring to dividing the catch of salmon.

<sup>16</sup> Short cut for teó:ra numússa:n.

<sup>17</sup> Lit. was touching.

nupiθví'ppi'. Na; tāna'ahára'a.m. Káruma 'ip níppa'at: Tánússir. Tcō·rá." Xas va; vura ká:n kunpiθvíripciþ. Kunpiyá'ram. Súva; vura kari vari kun?ássuna'ti', yí'músitc takun?íppahu'u.

Pacific Nighthawk's house. See, he took my tule mat out, too." Then one [of the girls] said: "Yes, let's run off. I am ashamed. I already said: 'We made a mistake.' Let's go." Then they ran home from there. They went home. They could still hear them quarreling, when they were some way off.

Kupánnakanakana. Nuttall's Poorwill did thus, and Pacific Nighthawk. Shine early, Spring Salmon, hither upriver. My back is straight. Grow early, Spring Cacomite.

## 2. Pehē·raha·mvanvasih?ikxúřík

(THE WHIPPOORWILL BACK [BASKET] DESIGN)

Tobacco has given its name, though indirectly, to one basketry design. Vertical zigzags of dots, occurring on a very old tray basket (múruk) purchased from Yas are called 'ihē·raha·mvanvasih?ikxúřík, whippoorwill (lit. tobacco eater) back design. The basket is 14 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter and 4 inches deep.

## 3. Pakō·kkáninay<sup>18</sup> pehē·rah uθvuykírahiná·ti'

(PLACES NAMED BY TOBACCO)

Although it was common to speak of the tobacco plot of a certain individual or rancheria, only five Karuk placenames have been found which refer to tobacco:

1. 'Ihē·rah Umú·trívířak, mg. where the tobacco is piled, a place on the old trail leading from upper Redcap Creek over the divide to Hupa. Cp. 'Áθeit umú·trívířak, mg. where trash is piled, a place-name on Willis Creek.

2. 'Uhē·raravárvutíhiřak, mg. where he smokes as he walks downriver, a place in the region at the head of Crapo Creek. The originating incident was not known to the informants.

3. 'Uhē·rárō·nnatihiřak, mg. where he smokes as he walks upriver, a place upslope of Tee Bar, near the head of 'Asahanátcśá·mvařuv, Rocky Creek, on the north side of the Klamath River. Originating incident unknown, as in the case of No. 2 above.

<sup>18</sup> Or pakō·kkáninay pe·θívθá·ně'ən.

4. 'Uhēí·críhra'ám, mg. where they put tobacco, name of a rock upslope of Katimin Spring. (See p. 244.)

5. 'Uhtayvarára'ám, mg. where they spoil tobacco, place just toward Georgie Orcutt's house from the Orleans schoolhouse. (See p. 244.)

4. 'Ávansa 'ihé·rah uθvuykírahítiháñik

(A MAN NAMED BY TOBACCO)

'Ihé·n'nate, dim. of 'ihé·ra'añ, smoker, name of an old Katimin Indian who was lame and walked with a cane as a result of having been hooked by a cow. He died perhaps about 1870. His other name was Pá·kvátcaáx, unexplained, which is also the Indian name of Fred Johnson. Of 'Ihé·n'nate is said: 'ihé·rā·nhani k'yari uñm ní·n-namitcháñik, he was a smoker when a little boy. Hence his name.

5. Pahú·t mit 'ihé·raha kunkupe·θvúykírahitiha', patakunmáha:k  
θúkkinkunic fá·t vúra

(HOW THEY CALLED IT AFTER TOBACCO WHENEVER THEY  
SAW ANYTHING GREEN)

Tobacco also contributed a color expression to the language. Belonging to the same class of color comparisons as pírick'yúnic, green, lit. brushlike, and sanímváyk'yúnic, brownish yellow, lit. sear-leaf like, Imk'yánvan's mother sometimes used to say kípa 'ihé·raháxxi'ít, like a green tobacco leaf, to designate a bright tobacco-green color.

XXIII. Ká·kum pákkuri víra kite 'ihé·raha 'upívúyri·nk'yahina·ti'

(ONLY A FEW SONGS MENTION TOBACCO)

In a collection of 250 Karuk songs only two have been found which mention tobacco, smoking, or its accompaniments.

1. The song sung by Skunk, mentioning tcirixxus, in the Skunk story. (See pp. 238-239.)
2. The kick-dance song, which tells of the hunter throwing stem tobacco to get luck in hunting. (See p. 235.)

These songs were not transcribed in time for insertion of their musical notation in the present paper.

## XXIV. Pa'apxantí·tc̄ihé·raha'

1. Pahú·t kunkupáaā·nvahitiha-nik pamukun̄ihé·raha pa'ap-xantinnihic̄

Va; kuma 'íffuθ pa'apxantín-nihite pámitva kunivyihukař, viri kó·vúra pa'ára;r tcé·mya;tc vura pakunihé·rana; pamukun̄ihé·raha', Pa'apxantí·tc̄ihé·raha'.

Pámitva pi'ēp va'árá·řás, paciečtc vura 'Apxantí·tc tákun'-ma, va; kar ihé·raha takunpatán'vic, takunpíp: "Tá·k 'ihé·raha'." Va; mit kunkupíttihá;. Va; mit kunpatánví·ctihá;. "Ihé·rahahum 'itá·rahiti?'" Há·ri mit kunpatánví·ctihá;. "Hó·y kíte mihé·raha??"<sup>1</sup>

Ká·kum pa'araraye ripáxvú·hsa pícečp vura takunímcákkář, Pa'apxantí·tc patcimi kunikmárihivrike·caha'a;k, tákunpíp: "Tcim Apxantí·tc nukmárihivrike'e;c." 'Ihé·raha paknimeákkarati'.

A. Pahú·t mit po·kupíttihat 'Axváhitc Va'ára'<sup>2</sup>, pehé·raha mit upáttanvutihá;

'Axváhitc Va'ára<sup>2</sup> 'ihró·ha mit, kuna vura mit vo·kupíttihat po-patanvúrayvutihat Pa'apxantini-híteri;k pehé·rähá' karu pa'-ávaha'. 'É m'mit.

(WHITE MAN TOBACCO)

(HOW THE WHITE MEN BROUGHT  
THEIR TOBACCO WITH THEM)

After the White men came in it was not any time at all before all the Indians were smoking their tobacco the White man tobacco.

The old-time Indians, as soon as they see a White man, they ask for tobacco, they say: "Give me some tobacco." That is the way they used to do. They used to ask: "Have you any tobacco?" Or they used to ask: "Where is your tobacco?"

Some Indian girls smell a white man right off before they meet him, they say: "I am going to meet a White man." It is tobacco that they smell.

(HOW OLD COFFEE POT USED TO  
BUM TOBACCO)

Axvahite Va'ara was a married woman, but she used to go around bumming tobacco and food from the Whites. She was a doctress.

<sup>1</sup> Cp. what Powers tells of the tatterdemalion Yuruks swooping downhill upon him to beg for tobacco, quoted on pp. 21-22.

<sup>2</sup> Mg. person 'Axváhitc, plen. across the river from Ayithrim Bar.

'Iθā'n pehē'rah upatánvic Sap-pav'á·vhítihān.<sup>3</sup> Vura 'upatán-ví·cti'. Ta'ifutetí·mmite xas uppé'er: "Na; pukinákkīhe·cara pehē'raha'." Xas uppí·p paké·vní·kkiče: "Kúmate·tcvánnihitc kē·tc vúxxax 'u'íppake'·c,<sup>4</sup> paná·kkīha'ak.

Taxára vura va; kuma'íffuθ pa'é·nti 'u'é·θi·hvána·nik pamuké·tcikyáví·vca', po·xússá·nik 'if hú·ntá·hite to·ppí·p. Va; mit 'ukupe·θviyá·nnáhitihat pehē'raha', pa'apxantí·te·lhé·raha', "teu-pé·k'y'u".

Va; mit kunkupíttihat, pata-kunihé·ta·nha'a·k, kúnptáttanvuti-hat pehē'raha', 'ahikyá·r ká·ru. Va; mit kumá'i'i na; pune·hé·rati-hat xay 'akára ni'áharamuti', 'ihé·raha nipátanvuti'.

B. Pahú·t mit kunkupé·kvá·n-vana·hitihat pa'ahikyá·r karu mit va; vura ká;n pakunihé·-rana·ti-hat panamnikpe·hvapiθ-vá·ram

Kari mit karítta;y papihní·t-tcítcas, xas Panámni;k pe·vapiθ-vá·ram 'ínná·k kunívyi·hfurukti-ha·ník. Hitíha;n kuníkváránkó·ti-hanik fá·t vú·ra. Va; pux\*ítce-ci:p kuníkvá·nti' 'ahikyá·r. Va; kuníhrú·vti pakunihé·rati, karu vura 'a·h kunikyá·rati'.

Once she asked Andy Merle for tobacco. She kept asking him. At last he said: "I am not going to give you any." Then the old woman said: "Pretty soon a big cut will be coming your way."

Long after that Andy told his friends, thinking it was so funny, what she said. She used to call tobacco, White man tobacco, "tcupé·k'y'u".<sup>4a</sup>

That is the way they did if they knew how to smoke, they used to bum tobacco, and matches too. That was the reason why I did not learn to smoke, I might be following somebody, begging tobacco.

(HOW THEY USED TO BUY MATCHES  
AND SMOKE INDIAN PIPES IN  
THE ORLEANS STORE)

When there were lots of old Indians yet they used to go in the store at Orleans Bar all the time. All the time they used to be buying something. The thing they bought the most was matches. They used them in smoking and made fire with them.

<sup>3</sup> Mg. having [red] cheeks like the sa'a·p, Steelhead, *Salmo gairdneri* Richardson; the Steelhead has a bright spot by the gills. Andy Merle came to Soames Bar as a fairly young man and died there when old. He had an Indian wife and was widely known among the Indians. It was he who introduced into English the term Píkyavish for the new year ceremony.

<sup>4</sup> Lit. will be coming back, as a return gift.

<sup>4a</sup> From Eng. tobacco.

Viri vura va;<sup>5</sup> kunímm'yústì pa'apxantiteč'i'n, kunxússéntì xay kunihē'r pamukun'úhrač'm 'ínná'ak, xay numskkař. Pata-kunxússaha;k nuhē'r kari pa'-rá;r kunpaharúppùkvútihànlk, patakunxússaha;k nuhē'r.

The Whites were watching lest they smoked their pipes inside, lest they smell it. If they wanted to smoke, then they drove them out.

## 2. Pehē·raha'

(THE TOBACCO)

'Apxantí·tcéihé·raha', 'apxantinihitcéihé·raha', White man tobacco.

Pa'ára;r 'u;mkun vura va;<sup>5</sup> pu'á·púnmutihaphaňik, pa'apxantínnk hitc papiccí'tc 'uhé'rānik va'arare'hé·rahahaňik, piccí'tc 'arári;í-i-'usá·nsípre'nik pehē·raha', pa'ára;r mukun'íhé·rahahaňik. Pa'ára;r 'u;mkun vura va;<sup>5</sup> pu'á·púnmutihaphaňik va<sup>5</sup> 'arare'hé·rahahaňik. The Indians did not know that when the White man first smoked it was Indian tobacco, that he first got the tobacco from Indianity, that it was the Indians' tobacco. The Indians did not know that it was Indian tobacco.

'Thé·rahapú·víc, bag or package of smoking tobacco, used by pipe or cigarette smokers. 'Thé·rahapú·víc'anammaháč, dim.

'A;n 'unhínnipvate pehē·rahapú·víc, the tobacco sack has a string on it. 'A;n unhí·críhárähiti', it has a string tied on it.

Musmusθirixo·rare'hé·raha', Bull Durham, lit. cattle testicle tobacco. Several of the Indians, e. g., Syl Donohue, use this term much. This is the only brand of smoking tobacco that has been given a name in the language.

## 3. Po·hrâ'm

(THE PIPE)

'Apxantí·tcéúhra'a'm, 'apxantinihitcéúhra'a'm, White man pipe.

'Ahup'úhra'a'm, a wooden pipe.

'Amtup'úhra'a'm, a clay pipe.

'Ukʷífkúrahiti', it is bent [in contrast to the straight Karuk pipe]. 'A? 'ukʷífkú·nsíprè·hítì', xas ká;n kunic 'uθríttaku 'ássip po·hrâ'm, it is crooked upward, it is like a bowl setting on there.

Patuhé·raha'a;k, 'u;m vura xar apmá;n 'uhýárùppă·ti'. 'Atcípti·kmű;k 'u'axaytcákkicrihti'. Púva;k kupíttihara pa'ára;r kunkupítti'. Karu vura pu'icná·kvútihara pehē·rahá'mku'uf, 'apmá;n vúra kitc po·hé·rati'. When he smokes he keeps the pipe in his mouth all the time. He holds it between fore and middle fingers. He does not do

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<sup>5</sup> Or páva.

as the Indians do. He does not inhale it either, he only smokes with his mouth.

Há·ri 'upímθanúpnú·pti pamu'úhra'·m, há·r upiyvayríccukvutti' pamuhé·rahá·mta'·p. Sometimes he taps his pipe, he spills out the tobacco ashes.

Va; pa'ávansa vura hitíha;n 'apmá;·n 'ührá;·m 'uhýárúppá·tì'. That man always has a pipe sticking out of his mouth. Na; vura 'ührá;·m 'apmá;·n né·hyárúpá·tì hitíha'·n. I have the pipe sticking out of my mouth all the time.

'Ára;·r 'u;·m vura va; kiti kari pamúpmá·nnak po·hrá;·m po·pám-máhtíha'·k, viri va; kari to·ppé·θrúpá'. 'Axyár tó·kyav pamúpmá·nnak pehé·rahá·mkú·uf. But the Indian keeps the pipe in his mouth only when he is smacking in, then he takes it out. He fills his mouth with smoke.

#### A. Po·hramxé·hva'·s

(THE PIPE CASE)

'Apxantí·tc?uhramxé·hva'·s, White man pipe case, lit. White man pipe pipe-sack. The term is standard and in use.

#### 4. Pe·kxurika'úhra'·m

(THE CIGARETTE)

A. Pahú·t pe·kxurika'úhra;·m 'uθvúyitti'·hva', karu pahú·t pamuc-vitáv 'uθvúyitti'·hva'

(HOW THE CIGARETTE AND ITS PARTS ARE CALLED)

'Ihxurika'úhra'·m, cigarette, lit. paper pipe. Also 'ihé·rahe·kxuri-ka'úhra'·m, lit. tobacco paper pipe. And sometimes as an abbreviation of this last 'ihé·raha'úhra'·m, lit. tobacco pipe. 'Ihxurika'úhná·m'-mitc, 'ikxurika'uhnám'·anammaha'c, dim. 'Ihxú·rik, marking, picture, pattern, writing, paper, is formed from 'ikxú·rik, to mark, to paint or incise marks on, to make a pattern, to write.

'Apxantí·tc?ikxurika'úhra'·m, 'apxantinihite?ikxurika'úhra'·m, White man cigarette, lit. White man paper pipe.

'Ihxurika'uhram?íppañ, cigarette tip.

'Ihxurika'uhram?áffív, butt end of cigarette.

But pamukunihé·ré'·p, stub of smoked cigarette or cigar, lit. one that has been smoked.

'Ihxurika'ührám?í'c, surface or body of cigarette, lit. cigarette meat.

'Ihxurika'uhram?ihé·raha', cigarette tobacco.

'Icyánnihite pehé·raha', va; pe·kxurika'úhra;·m kunikyá·tti', pe·kukáyav pakuma'ihé·raha', it is fine (not coarse) tobacco, they make cigarettes of that, the fine (not coarse) kind of tobacco.

'Ihē·rahe·kxúřik, cigarette paper, lit. tobacco paper. This is the regular term, one hardly says 'ikxurika'uhramikxúřik, paper pipe paper.

'Ihē·rahe·kxurikáta·hko<sup>o</sup>s, white cigarette paper.

'Ihē·rahe·kxurikasámsú·ykúníc, brown cigarette paper. Cp. sám-sú·ykúníc pamúmya:t papú·ffitc, the deer has fawn-colored fur.

'Ihxurika'uhnamtunvě·ckiccap, package of cigarettes. 'Ihxuri-kakiccap, any package, tied up with paper.

Nikvárarükti 'iθamáhya:n vura po·hnamtunvě·etc, kar 'iθappū·vic ( $\pm$  'ihē·raha)pú·vicak 'ihē·raha', kar ihē·rahe·kxúřik. I have come to buy a package (lit. one container) of cigarettes and a sack of cigarette [lit. sack] tobacco, and some cigarette papers.

'Ihxurika'uhram'ikē·rahá·mku"f, cigarette smoke.

**B. Pahú·t pakunkupe·yrúhahiti pe·kxurika'úhra'ám, karu pakun-kupe·hē·rahiti'**

(HOW THEY ROLL AND SMOKE A CIGARETTE)

'Ihē·r 'ukyá·tti', he makes a smoke (idiom for rolling a cigarette).

'Ihxurika'úhra'ám 'úyrú·hti,<sup>5</sup> he is rolling a cigarette.

Há·ri vura yíθθa vò·kùpittí', 'u:m vur ukyá·tti pamuhé·raha'úhra'ám,<sup>6</sup> há·ri yíθθa 'u:m vo·kùpittí', 'u:m vur 'úyrú·vti pamuhé·r, sometimes a person makes his own cigarettes, sometimes one rolls his own smokes.

'U:m vura xas ukyá·tti pamukxurika'úhra'ám, 'u:m vura 'úyrú·hti', he makes his own cigarettes, he rolls them.

Tcim ihē·r ukyá·vic, he is going to make a smoke.

Pateim ihē·r ukyá·vicāhá·k kari pe·kxurik tu·úriccuč, when he is going to take a smoke, he rolls the paper.

Tó·yvá·rámni 'ikxúrikk'yak pehē·raha', he spills the tobacco on a paper.

Karixas tó·y'ruh, then he rolls it.

Po·ittaktiha'a:k, 'u:m vura kohumayá·tc 'ukyá·tti po·kupehé·rá-he'c, xákkarari víra va:kó:s ukyá·tti'. Fí·páyav ukyá·tti'. Yav ukyá·tti'. If he knows how, he makes it the right size how he is going to smoke it, he makes both ends the same size. He makes it straight. He makes it good.

Va:kó:vura teaka'i·tc kunic pakuní·rú·hti' pakuníkyá·tti', pupuxx"ítc 'í·ru·htíhap, va:kó:vura pa'ámku:f su:y'úkyí·mváre:c po·pamah-máha'a:k, they roll it slow, when they make it, they do not roll it tight, so the smoke can go inside when he smacks in.

<sup>5</sup> Or tó·y'ruh.

<sup>6</sup> Short for pamuhé·rahe·kxurika'úhra'ám,

Karixas tí:m 'úpas to·yvúrák, tuviraxvíráx tí:m, then he puts spit on the edge, he laps the edge.

Karixas 'úpasmú·k tó·ptáxva', then he sticks it down with spit.

Há·ri tó·yrú·hpaθ 'ipanni'i·tc, xáy 'úyvá·yričuk, sometimes he crimps the end, it might spill open.

Karixas kar apmá:n túyú·n'var, then he puts it in his mouth.

To·ppař, he bites it.

Tupamtcákkáráří pe·kxurika'úhra'a·m, 'apmá:nmú·k tupamtcák-karaří, he shuts it on the cigarette, he holds it in his mouth.

Tá·k 'ahikyá'a·r, give me a match. Also tá·k θimyúricřihař.

Tá·k 'á·h, give me a light.

Xas tu·áhka', xas tubamáhma', then he lights it, then he smacks in.

Há·ri payíθθa mu'úhrá·mmák va; ká·n pamu'úhrá·mmú·k 'u'áh-súrō·tì'. Xas vo;áhkō·ttí pamu'úhrá·m'mák. 'Ukúkkuti payíθθa mu'úhrá·m'mak. Xas tupamáhma'. Sometimes from another's cigarette [lit. pipe] he takes fire off with his cigarette [lit. pipe]. He lights his "pipe." He touches it against the other "pipe." Then he smacks in.

Tce·myátceva 'upé·θrúppanati', he takes it out of his mouth every now and then.

Há·ri 'á·pun tó·θθářic, vura vo·ínk'yúti', sometimes he lays it down, it is burning yet.

Kúkku;m kari tó·ppé·ttciř, 'apmá:n tupíyú·n'var, he picks it up again, he puts it back in his mouth again.

Há·ri tó·msip, karixas kúkku;m 'a·h tupíkyáv, sometimes it goes out, then he lights it again.

Tcatik vúra va; tuhé·ráffip, then he smokes it all up.

Xas pamuhé·rép yí;váři to·ppá·θma', then he throws the stub away.

Há·ri va; vura to·kvithíecur po·hé·rati', sometimes he puts himself to sleep smoking.

Há·ri va; vura tó·kví·thá' vura vo·ínk'yúti pamukxurika'úhra'a·m, sometimes he goes to sleep with his cigarette burning.

Há·ri pamúva;s tu'í·nk'yá', sometimes his blanket burns.

### C. Pahú·t kunkupavictánni·nuvahiti pe·hé·r pe·kxurika'úhra'a·m

(THE CIGARETTE HABIT)

Pehé·ra;n kuma 'ávansaha'a·k, vura tuyúnyú·nha pehé·raha tupík-fí·tck'yaha'a·k, the man who smokes all the time just gets crazy if he gets no more his smoking tobacco.

Payíθθa tuhé·ráffip, k'úkku;m yíθθa tupíkyáv, as soon as he gets through with one he makes another one.

Tcatik vura takúmate:tc kó·vúra tuhé·ráffip pamuhé·rahapú·víc.  
before night he uses up all his tobacco sack.

'Ihé·ra'<sup>a</sup>n, he is a great smoker.

'Iøasúppá' vúrà po·hé·rati pe·kxunika'úhná·m'mítc, he smokes cigarettes all day.

Kunic taθúkkinkunic pamútti<sup>7</sup>k karu pamúvhuh, kó·va ta:y po·hé·rati', his fingers and his teeth are yellowish, he smokes so much.

#### D. Pe·kxurika'uhram?áhuþ

(THE CIGARETTE HOLDER)

'Ikxurika'uhram?áhuþ, a cigarette holder, = 'ikxurika'uhram?axay-  
tcákkicrihà:r.

#### E. Pe·kxurika'uhramáhyá·nná ráv

(CIGARETTE CASE)

'Ikxurika'uhram(tunvě·tc)?ässip, cigarette case, lit. cigarette bowl basket, = 'ikxurika'uhramáhyá·nná ráv. 'Ikxurika'uhramxé·hva'<sup>a</sup>s, cigarette pipe sack, could hardly be applied.

'Ikxurika'uhnam(tunvě·tc)máhyá·nná ráv, cigarette case. Also with first prepound omitted.

Mupú·vícak su? 'umáhyá·nnati', hitíha:n vura mupú·vícak su?, he keeps it in his pocket, it is all the time in his pocket.

Tcakitpú·víc, jacket pocket. Kutrahavaspú·víc, coat pocket. But never use pú·víc uncompounded for pocket. Always prepound coat, pants, or like. Kutraháva'<sup>a</sup>s, coat. From tukútra', he wags his buttocks to one side and back = tukutráhaθθuñ.= tukútepíl.

#### 5. Pasikyá·a

(THE CIGAR)

#### A. Pasikyá· kunkupe·tvúyá·nnahiti'

(HOW CIGARS ARE CALLED)

Sikyá·a, cigar. Im'yánvan's aunt, Tcúxa:tc, used to call cigar sikyá·ksi' = 'ihé·raha'uhramxárá, cigar, lit. long cigarette.

Sikyá·hka'<sup>a</sup>m, a big cigar.

Sikyá·hxár uhé·rati', he is smoking a long cigar.

Sikyá·h?anammmaha:tc, a small cigar, a cheroot.

Ká·kum tú·ppitcas pasikyá·a,<sup>7</sup> some cigars are small.

Sikyá·hikyáva'<sup>a</sup>n, cigar maker.

Sikyá·hpé·hvapiθváram, cigar store.

Sikyá·hpé·hvapíθva'<sup>a</sup>n, cigar seller.

<sup>7</sup> Or papiric?úhra'<sup>a</sup>m.

## B. Pahú·t kunkupe·kyá·hití karu pahú·t kunkupatá·rahítí'

(HOW THEY ARE MADE AND KEPT)

Piric 'í·rú·hapuhsa vura pasikyá<sup>a</sup>, a cigar is made of rolled up brush.

Va;<sup>z</sup> kumá'i<sup>i</sup> pupuxx<sup>w</sup>ítc 'í·rú·htíháp, va;<sup>z</sup> 'u;<sup>m</sup> yav kunkupapamah-máhahítí, va;<sup>z</sup> 'u;<sup>m</sup> pa'ámku<sup>f</sup> su? 'úkyí·mvárati', they do not roll it tight, so that they can suck in the smoke good, so that the smoke can go in.

Xas 'ávahkam vura santiríhk<sup>y</sup>a;<sup>m</sup> po'yrúhá·rári·váhítí', then a big wide leaf is rolled around the outside.

Há·ri pasikyá<sup>a</sup> 'ávahkam 'uyxó·rári·váhítí 'íkxurikasirikuníctá·hkó<sup>o</sup><sup>8</sup>, sometimes they wrap it with tinfoil on the outside.

Há·ri pasikyá<sup>a</sup> 'íkxurikasirikuníctá·hkó<sup>o</sup> 'uyxó·rári·mva 'ávahkam, sometimes it is wrapped with tinfoil on the outside.

Há·ri 'íkxúrik 'a·tcip 'ukíccaparahina·ti', 'íkxurikasífi, sometimes there is paper tied around the middle, shiny paper.

'Asxáyri<sup>z</sup>k vura po·tá·yhítí', they have to be kept in a damp place.

## C. Karu pahú·t kunkupe·hé·rahítí'

(AND HOW THEY ARE SMOKED)

Patcim uhé·ré·cahaha<sup>a</sup>k pasikyá<sup>a</sup>, kari simsí·mmú·k tó·kpá·ksur pakú·k 'u;<sup>m</sup> 'úpmá·nhe<sup>e</sup>c, then when he is going to smoke the cigar, he cuts off the mouth-end with a knife.

Tu'á·hká', he lights it.

Karixas tupíckí<sup>i</sup>n, then he puffs in.

'Apmá;<sup>n</sup> tó·kyí·mvar pa'ámku<sup>w</sup>f patupamahmáha<sup>a</sup>k, the smoke goes in his mouth when he smokes it.

Pu'íkxurika'uhnamtunvé<sup>t</sup>c 'ákka·tihařa, 'íkpíshaň, 'imxaθakké<sup>e</sup>m, it does not taste like a cigarette, it is strong, it stinks.

Tupé·θúppan pasikyá<sup>a</sup>, he takes the cigar out of his mouth.

'Ukfufurúppanati pehé·rahá·mkú<sup>w</sup>f, he blows the smoke out.

Há·ri tutaknihrúppanmaθ muhé·rahá·mkú<sup>w</sup>f, sometimes he makes his tobacco smoke roll out in rings.

D. Pasikyá·h?<sup>z</sup>áhu<sup>p</sup>

(THE CIGAR HOLDER)

Sik<sup>y</sup>a·h?<sup>z</sup>áhu<sup>p</sup>, cigar holder = sik<sup>y</sup>a·h?<sup>z</sup>axaytcákkícríhář.

Sik<sup>y</sup>a·h?<sup>z</sup>axaytcákkícríhář, cigar holder.

'Utaknihrúppanati pa'ámku<sup>w</sup>f, the smoke is rolling out in rings.

Há·ri vura va;<sup>z</sup> 'apmá;<sup>n</sup> 'uhýá·ráti xá;<sup>t</sup> pu'í·nk<sup>y</sup>útihařa, sometimes he holds it in his mouth unlighted.

<sup>8</sup> Lit. white-shining-paper.

## E. Pasik'ā·hmáhyā·nnářay

(THE CIGAR CASE)

Sik'ā·h?ássiþ, cigar case = sik'ā·hmáhyā·nnářav.

## 6. Papuþe·hē·raha'

(CHEWING TOBACCO)

'Ára:r 'u:m̄kun vura pu'ihe·raha páppuþtihaphanik. Payé'm ká·kkum takunpáppuþvana·ti pa·ára:r 'Apxanti·tečihé·rāhà'. Ta y vura kunpáppuþvana·ti papapu·hē·hē·raha pa'apxanti·tečicvítſa'. Ká·kkum karu vura pa'ararapi·híttcitcas kunpáppuþvana·ti'.

Kícvu:f vura nik 'u:m̄ hā·ri kunpáppuþti'. Hā·ri vura yíθea pa'ára:r vo·kupítti, yíθ uvúráy-vuti' kícvu:f síttcákvtvárak su-ruk 'úyú·nkúrlhvà'. 'Uvúráy-vuti'. Tee·myáteva 'upθaxay-cúrō·tì kícvu"if.

Va: mit k'yáru kō· kunpáppuþtihat mit'ímcáxvu',<sup>9</sup> karu hā·ri 'icvirip'ímcáxvu'.

## 7. Pe·mcakaré·hē·raha'

(SNUFF)

'Ímcakare·hē·raha', snuffing tobacco.

Yúffivmū·k 'umsakansákkanti', vo·kupe·hē·rahiti', with his nose several times he smells it in, he smokes that way.

Xas to pá·θva', then he sneezes.

## 8. Pahú·t pa'apxantínnihite pie-cí·tc kuniyá·varihvutihat mit pa'are·hē·raha ve·hē'er

(HOW THE WHITE MEN TRIED AT FIRST TO SMOKE INDIAN TOBACCO)

Papiccfí·tc kuniyáhukkanik pa'apxantínnihite, ká·kkum kinik-yá·varihvanik vehé'r, pa'araré·hē·raha'. Kunxútihanik vura nik nuhē·re'e. 'Itcá·nnitc vura patakunímyá·hkiv sù?, takunxus:

When the White men first came in, some of them tried to smoke the Indian tobacco. They thought: "We can smoke it." They took it into their lungs just once, they thought "we will

<sup>9</sup> Long texts have been obtained on preparing milkweed chewing gum, but the subject does not belong with the present report.

The Indians never did chew tobacco. Now some of the Indians chew White man tobacco. Lots of the halfbreeds chew chewing tobacco. Some old Indians chew too.

Indian Celery [root] is what they do chew sometimes. Sometimes a person does this way, goes around with a piece of Indian Celery [root] tucked under his belt. He walks around. Every once in a while he bites off some Indian Celery.

Another thing that they used to chew was milkweed gum, and sometimes Jeffrey Pine pitch.

"Nu;<sub>2</sub> karu va;<sub>2</sub> nukuphé'<sup>e</sup>c 'pa-'ára;<sub>2</sub>r kunkupítti'." Xas va;<sub>2</sub> vura xakinivkihasúpa;<sub>2</sub> kunkú-hiti', kó'v ikpíhañ, pa'araré'hé-raha'. Va;<sub>2</sub> kuma'íffuθ vura puhárixay pikyá·várivútihà pe-hé'<sup>e</sup>r.

do like Indians do." Then they were sick for a week. The Indian tobacco is so strong. They never tried to smoke it again.

## INDEX

---

|  | Page                    |  | Page                               |
|--|-------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| <b>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</b> -----                         | 2, 13                   | <b>BOLTON, H. E.</b> , acknowledgment to-----                              | 13                                 |
| <b>ACORN BREAD</b> , reference to-----               | 67, 68                  | <b>BOVING, A. G.</b> , cited-----  | 143, 144                           |
| <b>ACORN GATHERING</b> , time of-----                | 82                      | <b>BOWLS OF PIPES</b> -----  | 171-172                            |
| <b>ACORN WATER</b> , as a preventive of illness----- | 209                     | <b>Boys</b> -----  |                                    |
| <b>ADIANTUM PEDATUM</b> -----                        | 103                     | pipes made by-----   | 32-33                              |
| <b>AGRICULTURE</b> , Karuk-----                      | 9, 14, 63               | smoking by-----  | 12-13, 214                         |
| <b>AHOYAMATC</b> , story about-----                  | 221                     | <b>BRUSH</b> , burning of-----   | 63-65                              |
| <b>ALDER</b> , white, use of, in basketry-----       | 103                     | <b>BUCKSKIN</b> , used to cover baskets-----                               | 106-107                            |
| <b>ALNUS RHOMBIFOLIA</b> -----                       | 103                     | <b>BURIAL CUSTOMS</b> -----  | 6-7, 164-165                       |
| <b>ARCTOSTAPHYLOS GLAUCA</b> -----                   | 22, 23                  | <b>CALENDAR, KARUK</b> -----   | 81-83                              |
| <b>ARIKARA INDIANS</b> , tobacco of-----             | 36, 42                  | <b>CALIFORNIA HAZEL</b> , use of, in basketry-----                         | 103                                |
| <b>ARROWWOOD</b> , pipes of-----                     | 135, 137-147            | <b>CAPITAN</b> , acknowledgment to-----                                    | 2                                  |
| <b>ASHES</b> , tobacco fertilized with-----          | 21, 43-44, 64           | <b>CEREMONIAL FIRES</b> , making of-----                                   | 247-252                            |
| <b>ASIKTAVAN</b> , acknowledgment to-----            | 2                       | <b>CEREMONIES</b> . <i>See DANCES; NEW YEAR CEREMONY; SALMON CEREMONY.</i> |                                    |
| <b>BARCLAY, FORBES</b> , mention of-----             | 20                      | <b>CHAIN FERN</b> , use of, in basketry-----                               | 103                                |
| <b>BARK</b> -----                                    |                         | <b>CHASE, A. W.</b> , mention of-----                                      | 22                                 |
| Karuk terms for-----                                 | 52                      | <b>CHASE, MRS. AGNES</b> , acknowledgment to-----                          | 13                                 |
| uses of-----   | 52                      | <b>CHILDBIRTH MEDICINE</b> -----   | 261                                |
| <b>BASKETRY</b> , decoration in-----                 | 103-104                 | <b>CHORDEILES MINOR HESPERIS</b> -----                                     | 264                                |
| <b>BASKETS, MONEY</b> -----                          | 103                     | <b>CLOTHING</b> -----  |                                    |
| <b>BASKETS, TOBACCO</b> -----                        |                         | Absence of, among men-----   | 5                                  |
| described-----                                       | 103-107                 | of Karuk women-----  | 6                                  |
| details of weaving-----                              | 107-126                 | <b>CORN</b> , supposed effect on, of tobacco-----                          | 42                                 |
| made of hats-----                                    | 128-131                 | <b>CORYLUS ROSTRATA</b> -----  | 103                                |
| owners of-----                                       | 104-105                 | <b>COYOTE</b> , stories of-----  | 98-99                              |
| size of-----   | 126                     | <b>CROW INDIANS</b> , tobacco of-----                                      | 44                                 |
| <b>BATHING AND SWEATING</b> -----                    | 6                       | <b>CULTIVATION OF TOBACCO</b> -----  | 9, 21, 29, 30, 33-34, 63-65, 81-91 |
| <b>BEAR LILY</b> , use of, in basketry-----          | 103, 117-121            | <b>CULTURE, KARUK</b> , affiliations of-----                               | 3                                  |
| <b>BEETLE LARVA</b> , use made of-----               | 10                      | <b>CUSTOMS</b> . <i>See BURIAL; MARRIAGE; MOURNING; SMOKING.</i>           |                                    |
| <b>BEGGING</b> , for tobacco-----                    | 269-270                 | <b>DAGGETT, JOHN</b> , mentioned-----                                      | 154                                |
| <b>BELIEFS</b> -----                                 |                         | <b>DANCES</b> . <i>See JUMP DANCE; KICK DANCE.</i>                         |                                    |
| concerning elder wood-----                           | 135-136                 |  |                                    |
| concerning pipes-----                                | 30                      |  |                                    |
| concerning smoking-----                              | 214                     |  |                                    |
| concerning tobacco-----                              | 29, 34, 78-79, 255, 257 |  |                                    |
| <b>BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES</b> -----                   | 14-34, 36-44            |  |                                    |
| <b>BOLANDER, PROFESSOR</b> , mentioned-----          | 22                      |  |                                    |

|                                  | Page      |                                   | Page         |
|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| DERMESTES LARDARIUS-----         | 143, 144  | GIRLS, part taken by, in cere-    |              |
| DERMESTES NIDUM-----             | 144       | mony-----                         | 243          |
| DERMESTES VULPINUS-----          | 143, 144  | GIST, F. E., pipes collected by   | 161, 165     |
| DESIGN called whippoorwill back  | 266       | GLUE, made by the Karuk           | 156-157      |
| DIALECT, used in texts-----      | 2         | GRAVEYARDS, beliefs concerning    |              |
| DISK SEATS, use of-----          | 96-97     | tobacco in-----                   | 34, 78-79    |
| DOCTORS, pipes of-----           | 159       | GRAY, ASA, mentioned-----         | 22           |
| See also SUCK DOCTORS;           |           | GRUBS, used to bore pipes-----    | 31           |
| WOMEN DOCTORS.                   |           | GUM, of tobacco plant-----        | 54           |
| DOG HUCKLEBERRY, described--     | 45        | HABITATIONS-----                  | 4            |
| DOUGLAS, DAVID, tobacco de-      |           | HACKETT, acknowledgment to--      | 2            |
| scribed by-----                  | 19, 20-21 | HANSON, FRITZ-----                |              |
| DOWITCHER, LONG-BILLED, story    |           | acknowledgment to-----            | 2            |
| about-----                       | 257-260   | pipe sack made by-----            | 182          |
| DRAKE, SIR FRANCIS, tobacco      |           | HAPPY CAMP, basketry of-----      | 128          |
| offered to-----                  | 18        | HATS-----                         |              |
| DWELLINGS, KARUK-----            | 4         | Klamath, in National Mu-          |              |
| DYAR, L. S., mention of-----     | 127       | seum-----                         | 127          |
| EARACHE, remedy for-----         | 226       | use of, for tobacco baskets       | 128-131      |
| EATING CUSTOMS of the Karuk----- | 203       | HEADADDRESS-----                  |              |
| ELDER WOOD, belief concerning    | 135-136   | flower-----                       | 72-73        |
| ELK SCROTUM, use of-----         | 131-132   | of medicine man-----              | 245          |
| ENGELHARDT, FR. ZEPHYRIN, ac-    |           | HENRY, PETE, acknowledgment       |              |
| knowledgment to-----             | 13        | to-----                           | 2            |
| ENGLISH LANGUAGE, use of, by     |           | HERBS, medicinal use of-----      | 231-234      |
| the Karuk-----                   | 2-3       | HEWETT, EDGAR L., acknowl-        |              |
| FERTILIZER, wood ashes used for  | 21,       | edgment to-----                   | 13           |
|                                  | 43-44, 64 | HIDATSA INDIANS, tobacco of       |              |
| FEWKES, J. WALTER, acknowl-      |           |                                   | 36, 42, 44   |
| edgment to-----                  | 13        | HODGE, F. W., acknowledgment      |              |
| FIRE MAKING, Karuk-----          | 184       | to-----                           | 13           |
| FIRES, CEREMONIAL, at New        |           | HOUSES-----                       | 4            |
| Year-----                        | 247-252   | HUMBOLDT BAY INDIANS, pipes       |              |
| FLOWER, of tobacco plant-----    | 54-58     | and tobacco of-----               | 33           |
| FLOWERS, headdress of-----       | 72-73     | HUPA INDIANS-----                 |              |
| FOOD-----                        |           | pipes of-----                     | 23-28, 28-29 |
| classification of-----           | 62        | reference to culture of-----      | 3            |
| Karuk-----                       | 5, 74     | tobacco of-----                   | 40           |
| sale of-----                     | 133       | HUPA RESERVATION, collection      |              |
| FORMULAE-----                    |           | made on-----                      | 23           |
| for sowing seed-----             | 85        | IXXAREYAVS, explanation of-----   | 8-9          |
| tobacco mentioned in-----        | 255-257   | INDIAN CELERY-----                |              |
| FORT VANCOUVER, account of-----  | 19        | used for chewing-----             | 277          |
| FRUIT, Karuk terms for-----      | 60-61     | used for smoking-----             | 218-219      |
| GAME, GAMBLING, smoking at-----  | 254       | INSECTIFUGES, plants used as----- | 224          |
| HOST DANCE-----                  |           | INSOMNIA, Karuk remedies for----- | 11, 206      |
| mention of-----                  | 215       | JEFFREY PINE, use of, in bas-     |              |
| use of tobacco at-----           | 253       | ketry-----                        | 103          |
| GILL, MRS. MARY WRIGHT, ac-      |           | JEPSON, W. L., acknowledgment     |              |
| knowledgment to-----             | 13        | to-----                           | 13           |
| GILMORE, MELVIN RANDOLPH,        |           | JUMP DANCE-----                   |              |
| seed obtained from-----          | 41        | account of-----                   | 7            |
|                                  |           | time of-----                      | 83           |

| Page   |                 | Page                                      |  |
|--|-----------------|---|--|
| KARUK INDIANS—                                 |                 | MULTNOMAH INDIANS, territory of           | 20                                     |
| culture affiliations of                        | 3               | MULTNOMAH RIVER, applications of the name | 20                                     |
| life of, described                             | 4-9, 199-207    | MYTHS, telling of                         | 8                                      |
| location of                                    | 1               | NAMES—                                    |  |
| meaning of the name                            | 2               | for tobacco                               | 44-47                                  |
| names for                                      | 1-2             | mentioning tobacco                        | 263-267                                |
| KATIMIN, pipe rock at                          | 151-152         | <i>See also</i> PLACE NAMES.              |  |
| KICK DANCE, account of                         | 8               | NECROBIA MESOSTERNALIS                    | 143                                    |
| KLAMATH INDIANS—                               |                 | NECROBIA RUFIPES                          | 143                                    |
| Karuk attitude toward                          | 3               | NED, acknowledgment to                    | 2                                      |
| tobacco raised by                              | 22              | NEW YEAR CEREMONY—                        |  |
| LANGUAGE, KARUK names for                      | 1-2             | described                                 | 7-8                                    |
| LEAF, Karuk terms for                          | 52-53           | outline of                                | 241                                    |
| LEAVES, TOBACCO, described                     | 53-54           | purpose of                                | 241-242                                |
| LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION,                    |                 | reference to                              | 163                                    |
| mention of                                     | 20, 41          | time of                                   | 81, 82, 83, 241                        |
| LIMNODROMUS GRISEUS SCOLOPACEUS                | 257             | use of tobacco in                         | 241-252                                |
| LINGUISTIC METHOD OF STUDY, importance of      | 1               | NICOTIANA ACUMINATA                       | 38                                     |
| LINKINS, JOHN T., Acknowledgment to            | 13              | NICOTIANA ATTENUATA                       | 33, 36, 43                             |
| McGUIRE, JOSEPH D., mistake made by            | 25, 28          | NICOTIANA BIGELOVII                       | 29, 30, 33, 35, 36-44                  |
| MADDUX, MRS. PHOEBE, information obtained from | 2               | var. exaltata                             | 17, 19, 35, 37, 38                     |
| MAIDENHAIR FERN, use of, in basketry           | 103             | var. typica                               | 17, 35, 37, 38                         |
| MAIDU, NORTHERN, tobacco among                 | 29              | var. wallacei                             | 36, 37, 38, 41                         |
| MANDAN INDIANS, tobacco of                     | 36, 42          | NICOTIANA CLEVELANDII                     | 36, 38, 41                             |
| MANZANITA, use of                              | 22, 23, 25, 147 | NICOTIANA GLAUCA                          | 18, 35-36                              |
| MAPLE LEAVES, use of                           | 219-220         | NICOTIANA MULTIVALVIS                     | 19, 20, 36, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44         |
| MARRIAGE CUSTOMS                               | 4-5             | NICOTIANA NOCTIFLORA                      | 37                                     |
| MAXON, WM. R., acknowledgment to               | 13              | NICOTIANA PLUMBAGINIFOLIA                 | 22, 23, 25, 36, 37, 38, 39             |
| MEDICINE, tobacco in practice of               | 225-233         | NICOTIANA PULVERULENTA                    | 20                                     |
| MERLE, ANDY, brief account of                  | 270             | NICOTIANA QUADRIVALVIS                    | 20, 22, 23, 25, 36, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44 |
| MISTLETOE, use of                              | 221             | NICOTIANA REPANDA                         | 38                                     |
| MIWOK INDIANS, tobacco of                      | 39              | NICOTIANA RUSTICA                         | 43                                     |
| MODOC INDIANS, Karuk attitude toward           | 3               | NICOTIANA STOCKTONI                       | 38                                     |
| MONTHS, LUNAR, of the Karuk                    | 81-83           | NICOTINE, cleaning the pipes of           | 198-199                                |
| MORPHOLOGY of tobacco plant                    | 47-62           | NIGHTSHADE, related to tobacco            | 45                                     |
| MORTON, C. V., acknowledgment to               | 13              | OFFERING, to the mountains                | 233, 235                               |
| MORTUARY CUSTOMS                               | 6-7, 164-165    | OJIBWAY, custom of, in making pipes       | 141                                    |
| MOUNTAINS, offering to                         | 232-233, 235    | OMAHA TRIBE, tobacco of                   | 43                                     |
| MOURNING CUSTOMS                               | 81              | ORIGIN OF TOBACCO                         | 75                                     |
| MULLEN, MRS. GEORGE, acknowledgment to         | 13              | ORNAMENTATION, of pipes                   | 161-162, 169                           |
|  |                 | OVERLAY, in basketry                      | 103                                    |
|  |                 | PARKER, SAMUEL, mention of                | 20                                     |
|  |                 | PEACE PIPE, not known to Karuk            | 11                                     |
|  |                 | PEPPER, JOHN, acknowledgment to           | 2                                      |

|   | Page                             |  | Page       |
|---|----------------------------------|--|------------|
| PEPPERWOOD, use of-----                                 | 224                              | PLANTING OF TOBACCO-----                             | 75-77      |
| PESTLES, use of-----                                    | 97-98                            | PLANTS, Karuk classification of-----                 | 61         |
| PHALAENOPTILUS NUTTALLI NUT-TALLI-----                  | 263, 264                         | POMO INDIANS, tobacco of-----                        | 40         |
| PINUS PONDEROSA-----                                    | 103                              | POUCHES-----   |            |
| PIPE BOWL Rock, pipes made<br>of-----                   | 151-153                          | of basket work-----                                  | 24         |
| PIPE OF PEACE, unknown to<br>Karuk-----                 | 11                               | tobacco, described-----                              | 24         |
| PIPE SACKS-----   |                                  | PRAYERS-----   |            |
| described-----  | 10-11                            | at filling the pipe-----                             | 180        |
| kinds of-----   | 173-176                          | over medicine-----                                   | 233        |
| making of-----  | 175-179                          | PROPERTY-----  |            |
| measurements of-----                                    | 182                              | disposal of, at death-----                           | 164        |
| use of-----   | 29, 34                           | ownership of-----                                    | 4          |
| PIPES-----  |                                  | QUIVER, pipe carried in-----                         | 182-183    |
| arrowwood-----  | 135, 137-147                     | RATTLESNAKES, driven out by<br>brush-burning-----    | 65         |
| bored by grubs-----                                     | 31, 146                          | RAY, LIEUT. P. H., collection<br>made by-----        | 23         |
| bowls of, fitted to stems-----                          | 155-156                          | REESE, MR. AND MRS. W. P.,<br>acknowledgment to----- | 13         |
| capacity of-----  | 160                              | RIVER TOBACCO-----                                   | 46-47      |
| cases for-----  | 27, 29, 34                       | ROOT, TOBACCO, Karuk names<br>for-----               | 50         |
| decoration of-----                                      | 161-162, 169                     | ROTTEN WOOD, use of-----                             | 203-205    |
| described-----  | 10-11,<br>19, 22, 23-34, 165-166 | SACKS, BUCKSKIN, ceremonial<br>use of-----           | 236        |
| details of manufacture-----                             | 138-150                          | SAFFORD, W. E., acknowledg-<br>ment to-----          | 13         |
| Hupa-----   | 167                              | SALMON BEETLES, varieties of-----                    | 144-145    |
| Karuk word for-----                                     | 14, 15, 16, 17                   | SALMON CEREMONY-----                                 |            |
| kinds of-----   | 167-170                          | described-----                                       | 7          |
| lighting of-----  | 187-191                          | time of-----   | 83         |
| manner of carrying-----                                 | 181                              | SALMON GRUB, use made of-----                        | 142        |
| manner of holding-----                                  | 191-192                          | SALMON WORMS, kinds of-----                          | 145        |
| manzanita-----  | 147-150                          | SANDY BAR BOB, a doctor-----                         | 231        |
| Northern Maidu-----                                     | 29-30                            | SANDY BAR JIM-----                                   |            |
| of Humboldt Bay Indians-----                            | 33                               | acknowledgment to-----                               | 2          |
| of the Hupa-----  | 28-29                            | mention of-----                                      | 231        |
| of the Shasta Indians-----                              | 30-31, 167                       | SEATS. <i>See</i> DISK SEATS.                        |            |
| of the Takelma-----                                     | 30                               | SEED, Karuk names for-----                           | 58-60      |
| of yew-----   | 135, 150                         | <i>See also</i> TOBACCO SEED.                        |            |
| parts of-----   | 166                              | SETCHELL, W. A.-----                                 |            |
| sale of-----  | 162                              | acknowledgment to-----                               | 13         |
| Shasta beliefs concerning-----                          | 30                               | an authority on tobacco-----                         | 35         |
| size of-----  | 158-159                          | assistance rendered by-----                          | 35         |
| stone-----  | 150-155                          | SEWING, method of-----                               | 178        |
| use of, as medicine-----                                | 261                              | SHASTA INDIANS-----                                  |            |
| wooden-----   | 135-150                          | pipes of-----  | 30-31, 167 |
| Yuruk-----  | 167                              | reference to culture of-----                         | 3          |
| PIPES, MISS NELLIE B., assist-<br>ance rendered by----- | 19, 20                           | SHAVEHEAD, a Karuk woman<br>doctor-----              | 159        |
| PITH OF PLANT STEMS, Karuk<br>terms for-----            | 52                               | SHELLENBARGER, MRS. B., ac-<br>knowledgment to-----  | 13         |
| PLACE NAMES referring to to-<br>bacco-----              | 266-267                          | SINEW, used for sewing-----                          | 178        |
| PLANTATION OR GARDEN, Karuk<br>name for-----            | 50                               |  |            |

| SKINS—   | Page                                     |         |
|--|--|---------|
| tobacco containers made of                       | 131-132                                  |         |
| used for pipe sacks                              | 174-176                                  |         |
| <b>SKUNK</b> , story about                       | <b>237-240</b>                           |         |
| <b>SMITH RIVER TRIBE</b> , reference to          | 3, 11                                    |         |
| <b>SMOKING—</b>                                  |  |         |
| beliefs concerning                               | 214                                      |         |
| by Karuk women                                   | 210                                      |         |
| effect of  | 195-196                                  |         |
| habit of   | 215-216                                  |         |
| inhaling in                                      | 193                                      |         |
| Karuk attitude toward                            | 12-13                                    |         |
| plants used for                                  | 218                                      |         |
| procedure in                                     | 183-199                                  |         |
| <b>SMOKING CUSTOMS</b>                           | <b>10-12,</b><br><b>32, 207-208, 210</b> |         |
| <b>SNAKE INDIANS</b> , tobacco of                | <b>44</b>                                |         |
| <b>SNAPPY</b> , acknowledgment to                | <b>2</b>                                 |         |
| <b>SOAPSTONE</b> , use of, for pipes             | <b>153-155</b>                           |         |
| <b>SOLANUM NIGRUM</b>                            | <b>45</b>                                |         |
| <b>SONGS, KARUK—</b>                             |  |         |
| by the Orleans maidens                           | 71                                       |         |
| by the skunk                                     | 238, 239                                 |         |
| mentioning tobacco                               | 268                                      |         |
| of the kick-dance                                | 235                                      |         |
| <b>SQUIRREL JIM</b> , mention of                 | <b>137</b>                               |         |
| <b>STALK OF PLANTS</b> , Karuk terms for         |  |         |
|  | <b>50-51</b>                             |         |
| <b>STANLEY, PAUL C.</b> , acknowledgment to      | <b>13</b>                                |         |
| <b>STEALING</b> , among the Karuk                | <b>90-91</b>                             |         |
| <b>STIRLING, MATTHEW W.</b> , acknowledgment to  | <b>13</b>                                |         |
| <b>STONE PIPES</b>                               | <b>136, 150-155</b>                      |         |
| <b>STORAGE</b> , of tobacco                      | <b>10, 102</b>                           |         |
| <b>STORIES, KARUK—</b>                           |  |         |
| about Long-billed Dowitcher                      | 257-260                                  |         |
| of Across-water Widower                          | 67-72                                    |         |
| of Coyote  | 94                                       |         |
| of Spring Salmon                                 | 263-266                                  |         |
| of Sugarloaf Bird                                | 66                                       |         |
| of the skunk                                     | 237-240                                  |         |
| <b>SUCK DOCTORS—</b>                             |  |         |
| methods used by                                  | 228-231                                  |         |
| use of tobacco by                                | 227-229                                  |         |
| <b>SUGAR PINE NUTS</b> , gathering of            | 211-214                                  |         |
| <b>SWANTON, JOHN R.</b> , assistance rendered by | 19                                       |         |
| <b>SWEATBATH</b> , as a remedy for sickness      | 233-234                                  |         |
| <b>SWEATHOUSE—</b>                               |  |         |
| gathering wood for                               | 200                                      |         |
| tobacco cured in                                 | 93                                       |         |
| tobacco grown on                                 | 22                                       |         |
| use of   | 4, 6, 200, 201, 202, 205                 |         |
| <b>SWEATING</b> , custom of                      | <b>199, 201</b>                          |         |
| <b>SWEATING AND BATHING</b>                      |  |         |
| <b>TAKELMA INDIANS—</b>                          |  |         |
| location of                                      | 30                                       |         |
| smoking among                                    | 30                                       |         |
| <b>TARGET-SHOOTING CEREMONY</b>                  | <b>241,</b><br><b>242-243</b>            |         |
| <b>TEETH</b> , preservation of                   | <b>205</b>                               |         |
| <b>THEFT</b> , among the Karuk                   | <b>90-91</b>                             |         |
| <b>TILLAGE</b> , knowledge of                    | <b>73</b>                                |         |
| <b>TINTIN</b> , acknowledgment to                | <b>2</b>                                 |         |
| <b>TOBACCO—</b>                                  |  |         |
| beliefs concerning                               | 29,<br>34, 78-79, 255, 257               |         |
| botanical discussion of                          | 35-44                                    |         |
| color of   | 100                                      |         |
| cultivation of                                   | 9,<br>21, 29, 30, 33-34, 63-65, 81-91    |         |
| curing of  | 9, 92-93                                 |         |
| distribution of                                  | 40-41                                    |         |
| forms of, in California                          | 35-36                                    |         |
| habits of growth of                              | 48                                       |         |
| harvesting of                                    | 87-90                                    |         |
| in Karuk language                                | 44-47                                    |         |
| Karuk word for                                   | 14, 15, 16, 17                           |         |
| medicinal use of                                 | 225-226                                  |         |
| mentioned by writers on                          |  |         |
| Karuk  | 17-34                                    |         |
| offered to the gods                              | 9-10, 12                                 |         |
| place of, in Karuk life                          | 12                                       |         |
| power attributed to                              | 255, 257                                 |         |
| price of   | 134                                      |         |
| river and mountain                               | 46-47                                    |         |
| running affected by                              | 42                                       |         |
| sale of  | 133                                      |         |
| storage of                                       | 10, 102                                  |         |
| uses for   | 10, 11-12, 224                           |         |
| volunteer growth of                              | 78-80                                    |         |
| wild, belief concerning                          | 29                                       |         |
| wild, breeding from                              | 9  |         |
| wild, name for                                   | 46                                       |         |
| wild, use of                                     | 22, 25, 34                               |         |
| See also <b>TOBACCO PLANT</b> .                  |  |         |
| <b>TOBACCO BASKETS</b> . <i>See BASKETS</i> ,    |  |         |
| <b>TOBACCO</b> .                                 |  |         |
| <b>TOBACCO CHEWING</b> , among the Karuk         |  |         |
|  |  | 10, 277 |
| <b>TOBACCO EATER</b> , name for the whippoorwill |  |         |
|  |  | 263     |

| TOBACCO PLANT—                 | Page           | WILD TOBACCO—Continued.      | Page       |
|--------------------------------|----------------|------------------------------|------------|
| described                      | 49             | name for                     | 46         |
| discussion of                  | 35-44          | use of                       | 22, 25, 34 |
| habits of growth of            | 48             |                              |            |
| Karuk names for parts of       | 47-60          |                              |            |
| <i>See also</i> TOBACCO.       |                |                              |            |
| TOBACCO PLOTS, location of     | 77             |                              |            |
| TOBACCO POUCHES, described     | 24             |                              |            |
| TOBACCO SEED—                  |                |                              |            |
| germination of                 | 61             | pipes of                     | 135-150    |
| sowing of                      | 83-84, 85      | rotten, use of               | 203-205    |
| TOBACCO STEMS, use of          | 95-96, 217-218 | WOODPECKER SCALPS, used as   |            |
| TOOTHACHE, remedy for          | 226            | money                        | 134        |
| WEALTH, among the Karuk        | 5              | WOODWARDIA RADICANS          | 103        |
| WEAVING, details of, in basket |                | WORMS, use of, to bore pipe- |            |
| making                         | 107-126        | stems                        | 142        |
| WEEDING, practice of           | 86             | WORMWOOD, use of             | 224        |
| WHIPPOORWILL—                  |                | XEROPHYLLUM TENAX            | 103        |
| called tobacco eater           | 263            | YAS, acknowledgment to       | 2          |
| design named for               | 266            | YEPIPAN, a Karuk doctor      | 160        |
| WHISTLES, use of               | 137            | YEW, pipes made of           | 150        |
| WHITE MAN, tobacco of          | 269-278        | YURUK—                       |            |
| WILD TOBACCO—                  |                | fondness of, for American    |            |
| belief concerning              | 29             | tobacco                      | 21-22      |
| breeding from                  | 9              | reference to culture of      | 3          |
| 83-85                          |                | smoking customs of           | 33-34      |
| 86                             |                |                              |            |
| 87                             |                |                              |            |
| 88                             |                |                              |            |
| 89-91                          |                |                              |            |
| 92                             |                |                              |            |
| 93-95                          |                |                              |            |
| 96-98                          |                |                              |            |
| 99                             |                |                              |            |
| 100                            |                |                              |            |
| 101                            |                |                              |            |
| 102                            |                |                              |            |
| 103                            |                |                              |            |
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